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THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC

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THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC

BY
KEVIN R. O'SHIEL



S. GANESAN,
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FOREWORD

A THOROUGH knowledge of Irish History is of course the best foundation for the earnest worker in the cause of Irish freedom. However, he cannot be considered fully equipped for his task if he is totally ignorant of the struggles for liberty made by other nations.

There is much truth in the saying of the English statesman Bolingbroke, that "history is philosophy teaching by examples." Not only are the achievements of the people of the past recorded in its pages, but, what is more valuable to posterity, the causes of their successes and failures. In this manner are we "taught by examples"—the moral this small book will try to point.

The American Revolution, of all national upheavals, is worthy of deep study by Irishmen. In the first place, the Americans rose against an arbitrary government, not unlike that which oppresses the Irish nation to-day, and after seven years of the greatest pain and suffering, brought its strife with that Government to a brilliant and successful conclusion. Then again, the methods adopted towards the Americans by the then English administration bear a striking likeness to the present-day treatment of Ireland by the Lloyd George ministry.

In reading the history of the revolution we are staggered by the parallels we meet so frequently. When

the Americans refused to accept the taxation Acts and thus "challenged Imperial supremacy," as the present British Premier would say, the offended parent-country replied by passing a long string of coercion bills.

The assemblies of the various states were dissolved and proclaimed as "illegal," and no meetings were allowed except during election times. Persons accused of "disaffection," and British subjects charged with the murder of Americans in the course of their official duties, were to be sent to England or Nova Scotia and there tried "in the interests of justice." The custom-house and port of Boston were closed, and the civil governor of Massachusetts was superseded by General Gage with a large army to garrison the "seditious" country.

Against this coercion the Americans adopted many of the weapons that are used to-day in combating a similar system of mis-government. They became "Sinn Feiners," and resolved to have as little as possible to do with England. They would not eat English food; they would not buy English goods; they would not wear English clothes. In order the better to carry out this latter ordinance they gave up the eating of lamb so as to increase the stock of sheep for the future supply of home wool.

In a short time this boycotting policy, pursued with great tenacity and thoroughness, lost to English £3,000,000, and ruined many London merchants.

The American women were not behindhand in helping their country in her hour of need. Their zeal and noble unselfishness contributed much to the success and ultimate triumph of Washington's arms. The highest amongst them did not disdain to use the spinning-wheel, to forego foreign luxuries, and to attend to the

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wants of those made desolate by the war. They were fond of tea, but every pound of that commodity bore a British tax, and so far did they carry their patriotism that they gave up drinking it, and partook of "hyperion" instead—a mixture made from raspberry leaves.

America, too, had her "Ulster difficulty"; a problem as serious and as sinister as ours. The annals of that time are tarnished by many instances of brutal deeds committed on their countrymen by self-styled "loyalists." Torture, burnings, rape, and cold-blooded murders were some of the ways of "holding America for the Empire" adopted by those parasites. After the war, their much-injured countrymen magnanimously forgave them and repealed the confiscation laws passed against them. Most of them took advantage of this and returned to their homesteads, but thousands crossed into Canada where they were provided with land and money by the British Government.

Their descendants form considerable bodies to-day in Toronto, Montreal, and others of the larger Canadian towns where they keep up the reactionary traditions of their fathers, by speaking furiously, on every opportunity, against Irish aspirations.

The struggle for American Independence teaches us some salutary lessons.

Freedom's highway is a narrow and a thorny road bestrewn with many obstacles, and those who would walk there must have perseverance, earnestness, self-restraint, and, above all, courage, moral as well as physical. An academic belief in liberty is well enough, but it will never set free a country. What is wanted more, than anything else, is that deep-rooted conviction which controls superfluous talk and guides the energy of the oppressed towards the performing of great deeds. The

palm of freedom is for the brave, the patient, the serious, and the industrious.

On the other hand it is foolish to expect always a high standard of zeal and unselfishness from a whole people, even in the noblest of causes. Enthusiasts often forget that they are dealing with flesh and blood which is the most fitful and the most changeable composition on earth. Had the great Washington despaired of his ill-clad, badly-disciplined, mutinous, and famished troops, nobody would have blamed him, but what would have become of the United States?

General Lafayette wrote to General Washington, at a time when American fortunes were very low: "I begin to fear (America) may be lost by herself and by her own sons. When I was in Europe I thought that there every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die than live a slave. You may conceive my astonishment when I say that Toryism (i.e., pro-Britishism) was as apparently professed as Whiggism (i.e., American Nationalism) itself."

Washington's reply was characteristic: "We must not in so great a cause, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine."

This small book does not pretend to be anything more than a general outline of one of the most momentous epochs in the history of the world. The material is so vast and complicated that nothing more could well be achieved within my limited scope.

I neither make nor suggest a single comparison in the narrative, preferring to let striking and obvious parallels that occur on nearly every page, speak for themselves.

THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC

CHAPTER I BEFORE THE STORM

SEVENTEEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY THREE was a year of cheer and happy augury for the people of British America. In November the final struggle between France and England for the mastery of America had been concluded by the Peace of Paris whereby the sovereignty of the vast territories of the Canadas and the Mississippi Valley was vested in the English Crown. Thus, after a struggle, lasting on and off more than a century, Gallic influence and power passed away from the New World for ever.

No wonder the joybells of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia pealed, for France had been the bravest, the most ingenious, the most insistent and the last of all the outside enemies that hindered the growth of the struggling young democracies.

Before this war the possessions of the British Empire in America consisted of thirteen provinces. These thirteen provinces owed their origin to many different

causes and differed much between themselves in their constitutions and laws. First in importance was the original group of the four New England provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. These were founded, directly or indirectly, by the Pilgrim Fathers, those austere men with rigid, Calvinistic principles who left the comforts of England to go into "a countrie they knew not but by hearsay," in order to follow "ye ways of God, and to enjoy His ordinances."

The "Mayflower," under the command of Captain Jones, embarked a hundred of these Puritans and "loosed from Plymouth" on the 6th September, 1620, and with the wind "east-north-east, a fine, small gale" passed over the Atlantic on her memorable voyage.

The crossing was violent, and the little craft of 160 tons was "shrewdly shaken," and "her upper works made leaky." Great was the joy of these good people when they were "brought safe to land" on the 19th November. "And no marvele," as Bradford, their leader, wrote, "seeing that wise Senecca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land than pass by sea to any place in a short time."

These were the first settlers in Massachusetts, which state became, to a great extent, a source of population for the other three. The fiery zeal of Puritanism had long passed away, but its democratic tents and stubborn character had, as we shall see, much to do in hastening on the revolution.

The New Netherland group consisted of the two provinces of New York and New Jersey, colonised by the Dutch. Delaware, colonised by the Swedes but captured by the Dutch, was included later in this group.

They had all come into English hands after the Anglo-Dutch war in the reign of Charles II.

Pennsylvania, the large territory lying inland to the west, was founded by the great humanitarian William Penn and his Quaker followers, as a refuge for all sufferers for conscience sake.

To the south of the Potomac river lay Virginia, named by Raleigh after the alleged chastity of Queen Elizabeth, and chiefly settled by royalists who had fled from Cromwell and broken down Englishmen of high birth. She was the oldest of all the colonies dating from 1607, and her sons looked upon themselves as the aristocracy of America. Although built from very different material than the New England States she was equally active in the cause of the revolution; and, if we find that the citizens of Massachusetts were, as a body, more enlightened in liberal principles, we cannot forget that Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison and most of the big leaders in the war of Independence were citizens of Virginia. Maryland was founded by Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, on the 20th June, 1632, as a haven for Catholics and all persecuted Christian sects. Next year the first immigrants arrived: two hundred English gentlemen, and their servants, all of them pious Catholics, fleeing from the spirit of intolerance at home.

Baltimore was, perhaps, the first to deal humanely with the native Indians. Instead of possessing himself forcibly of their lands as did Virginia and most of the other States, he entered into negotiations with the local chieftains and bought their properties for a moderate sum. This action won the confidence of the red men, and neither he nor his descendants had any serious trouble with them.

He held views much in advance of his time, but his

fame is tarnished by the sufferance he gave to the slave trade.

Under the mild rule of the proprietary, Maryland, "the original home of religious liberty in America," as the historian McSherry calls her, made greater strides in population and in trade in a shorter time than most of the other colonies.

Of the remaining three provinces, North and South Carolina had been founded in 1670 by Virginians. Georgia, the youngest, owed her origin to General Oglethorpe, who, in 1732, settled her with debtors and persecuted Germans.

France was a formidable foe, and it had taken the Thirteen Colonies, with all the aid the Mother Country could spare, seven years of a fierce and bloody conflict to be rid of her. Naturally they were much exhausted and their losses heavy. Thirty thousand of their best citizens had fallen on the field, or succumbed to disease, and an expense of over £3,000,000 had been incurred of which Britain had reimbursed them but a third. Taxation was severe, and the leading colonies had contracted heavy debts. They had also their share of sickness, scarcity, famine, bankruptcies, and the hundred such-like fruits of war. But in spite of these serious trials the struggle had not interfered materially with their growing wealth and power. Indeed, whatever check they got was not likely to affect such a race that had overcome far greater obstacles in the past for the religious and political ideals they held sacred. Even during the war their steady rate of progress in commerce and in trade, far from declining, had rapidly continued so that at the date of Peace we find that they had reached an extraordinary stage of development.

For many years before the revolution, an ever growing

tide of some of the best blood in Europe had been pouring into the country. From Germany came the Moravians, from France the thrifty Huguenots, from Scotland the persecuted Jacobites, and half-starved Highland crofters; and from Ireland, in numbers greater than they all, came Northern Presbyterians and Southern Catholics, impatient and a little intolerant of each other's shortcomings, but united in a deep hatred of British oppression. By the end of the eighteenth century tyranny and starvation had chased half-a-million Irish across the Atlantic of whom nearly three hundred thousand had come during the first fifty years. Generally they spread themselves over the colonies, showing a special fondness for New England and the Middle States, but confining themselves nowhere and percolating even to the wilds of Kentucky and the vast, untravelled acres beyond the Ohio.

In Pennsylvania they grew so formidable that they were ultimately able to suppress the Tory agitators and hold the State for the patriots.

Many of the Germans and Scotch lent aid and sympathy to the British cause; but the Irish of all religions, of all classes, and of all conditions were to be found during the struggle, almost exclusively on the American side. Nor were they content, like many of the native-born, with rendering lip service only. It is true not many of them attained to the lofty places of ease, but in the ranks of the insurgent army they could claim every second man. From the Boston Massacre, where Patrick Carr was shot, to Quebec, where Montgomery of Raphoe fell—in every action, in every battle, in even the smallest skirmish, Irish lives were lost and Irish blood was shed in order that America might live.

And whilst the war was raging, they came out in

steady streams fired with the opportunity opened to them of revenge, and incidentally peopling the great waste places and putting a new strain into the older blood.

And what with this extra means of emigration coupled with the natural means of birth, the white population in the calm years between the French peace and the Revolution had increased to something over two millions. The primeval forests had been cleared to make room for thriving townships and rich farms; many ports had been established on the coast, and a great trade had sprung up between the colonists and England.

Much progress had also been made in education, that infallible leaven which precedes all risings against oppression; and free schools and grammar schools were founded in the towns and large villages.

Now that the French difficulty was removed there seemed to be no bar to the onward march of this "recent people," as Burke called them, and they saw before them a glorious vision of unequalled greatness. But we shall soon see that there were many and grave obstacles to the speedy realization of this dream.

CHAPTER II

MURMURINGS

BY the Treaty of Paris, France, beaten on all fronts, virtually surrendered to Britain and her German allies. Consequently the British Empire was increased by many thousands of square miles. But the glory of territorial aggrandisement is an expensive one, and she found that her adventure in greatness had cost her £140,000,000—a fabulous sum for those days.

The first flush of victory over, the English people began to feel the pressure of the heavy taxation. All the arts of extracting money at home had been exhausted, and the new Government, with Mr. Grenville at its head, decided to exploit the resources of America.

According to the traditional view of British statesmen, the growth and enriching of England was the chief advantage of colonial possessions. Gratitude for their existence and a filial pride in the progress of their mother-country were thought compensation enough for the colonists. Acting in this spirit the London executive had always deemed it a right to make whatever use of the colonies they thought fit. Since the birth of the first American community, laws had been made curbing its trade and stunting the growth of its manufactures.

On the 10th March 1764, Mr. Grenville moved resolutions

in the the House of Commons imposing light duties on certain American commodities "towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British Colonies and plantations in America." The fourteenth resolution stated "that, towards defraying the said expenses it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties on the said colonies and plantations."

By "defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies," the minister meant the keeping there of a large permanent army for the supposed object of guarding the frontiers against the Indians, but really to strengthen the gradually weakening power of the royal governors.

These resolutions caused a good deal of unrest in America, but they were received with applause in England where public opinion was entirely in their favour.

The assemblies of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania protested strongly against them and sent respectful and loyally-worded petitions to the King and the House of Commons. They further instructed their London agents to offer the firmest resistance to their passage. By the February of next year, many petitions from the colonies, and from London merchants who feared the ruin of their trade poured in upon the ministry. A convenient rule was made, however, against receiving such protests, and Mr. Grenville went bluntly onwards with his ominous measures.

Early in the March of the year 1765, he introduced his famous Stamp Bill, which was to become operative on the 1st November following.

About the same time a clause was inserted in the Mutiny Act authorising the Ministers to send as many troops as they thought necessary to America; and a Quartering Act was passed, requiring the Colonies in

which troops were stationed to supply them with quarters, bedding, firewood, drink, soap, and candles.

When news of these doings reached America a wave of indignation swept over the provinces. Patrick Henry, a young lawyer, led the opposition to the measures in the Virginian Assembly. He wound up his protest by exclaiming with emphasis: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.—"

"Treason! treason!"—cried the conservative burghesses. But Henry, without a pause, finished his sentence: "may profit by their example!"

Meanwhile the Assembly of Massachusetts was not idle. Its Correspondence Committee circularised the colonies to send delegates to a congress that was to meet at New York on the first Tuesday in October for the purpose of taking united action against the new taxes. The assertion of Britain's right to tax the Americans, and her determination to act on it created a big controversy in the two countries. In London, Boston, New York and Philadelphia publishing houses were fast turning out books and pamphlets on the pros and cons of the question.

And here we will pause a little to examine the theoretical side of the revolution. It is worth a little attention because of the very important part the doctrines of that era must play in a properly constructed League of Nations

One of the ablest debaters on the American side was Mr. Samuel Adams of Boston, who enunciated a doctrine that later became the keystone of the constitution of the United States. Taking Locke as his standard, and reasoning on the philosophy of that thinker, he argued, "that it is the glory of the British prince and the happiness of all his subjects that their constitution hath its foundations in the immutable laws of nature." Now the laws of nature are fixed, and if they are to bind all free

states, it follows that the constitutions of free states must also be fixed; in another and more familiar form that there should be "a government of law and not of men."

This was acutely opposed to the English contention that the King, Lords and Commons were supreme, and that the constitution was ever changing according to the will of these three estates acting as one. Everything government did was law. There was no limit to its supremacy, the mere fact that it did a thing being proof enough of its legality.

On the other hand, Adams, and the American theorists, as we have seen, conceived a good government as being strictly limited by the rigid laws of Nature. They further laid it down, that all men are born equal and are possessed of certain fundamental rights which they have never yielded to any authority. Therefore, the great aim of a sovereignty should be to secure and preserve these fundamental rights and in order to do that, all good governments, in the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence, should "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

These are the principles that the American patriots of 144 years ago fought to maintain, and having maintained, firmly embodied in their constitution.

To-day it is the professed mission of President Wilson to see that they are embodied in every other constitution of human society. "It has been left to us," he said at Mount Vernon on the 4th July, 1918, "to see to it that they (i.e., Washington, Jefferson, etc.) spoke and acted, not for a single people only but for all mankind."

A fine ideal and finely said; but it has yet to be put into practice before we become enthusiastic about it.

The New York Convention, with delegates from nine provinces, after three weeks' deliberation, drew up a

declaration setting forth their rights and grievances, and endorsing the doctrine that no legislature but their own assemblies had a right to tax them. Thus they turned down Pownall's plan for giving them representation in the British Parliament, and endorsed a policy of abstention from Westminster.

But activity was not confined to the colonial congress and the various assemblies. All classes of the people were stirred to their depths and willingly gave assistance to the opposition. The merchants of New York hit upon the scheme of the economic boycott by directing their English correspondents to ship no more goods to them until the colonial grievances were adjusted. This deadly weapon spread speedily through the continent and was mainly responsible for the repeal of the offensive statute.

It was generally resolved that as little trade as possible should be carried on with England until she ceased to interfere with American rights. The killing of lamb was stopped so as to secure a supply of wool for home-manufactured clothing. The wearing of British-made clothes was fashionable up to this date, but now he who wore aught but homespun was looked upon as a bad citizen. It was further decreed that no lawyer was to plead the cause of an English creditor, nor was any American to send money to England in satisfaction for debts. The judges, from the High Court down, dispensed with the stamped paper necessary in judicial proceedings; and the customs officials dealt likewise with the stamped paper required in giving clearances to ship masters. In fact, everyone was prepared to suffer actual privation rather than let any money percolate into the British treasury.

Such was the passive attitude. But there was also a strong and rapidly growing body of opinion favouring

more strenuous methods. The idea of active resistance to aggression was fostered by the "Sons of Liberty," the society of young men which was, even at this time, beginning to make itself felt in many parts of the country. The wealthy and the elderly repudiated these ideas as rash and extreme but we shall see how they were eventually swept into the great activist movement which wrested America from her oppressors. For the present, however, the "Sons" contented themselves with making things hot for the enemies of the people. By intimidation and threats they compelled most of the Stamp distributors to resign; and such stamps as they had were taken from them and burned.

Coercion has always a turbulent effect on a proud and high-spirited people, and it was not long before violent popular outbursts occurred in most of the big towns.

From the branches of a tall elm in Boston, known as the "Liberty Tree," grotesque effigies of persons favourable to the tax were suspended. Later they were taken down, paraded through the streets, and burnt. The houses of Secretary Oliver, Governor Hutchinson, and Mr. Story, the Admiralty registrar, were wrecked and pillaged. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of the ringleaders but public opinion was so much on the side of the rioters that no arrests were made.

On 1st November, the day appointed for the Act to come into force, the rioting was renewed with still greater violence.

The bells of Boston tolled, and all day excited crowds marched through the streets singing patriotic songs and declaiming against the Stamp Act. They dragged unfortunate Secretary Oliver to the "Liberty Tree" where they made him swear over again renunciation of his office. Proclamations signed "Vox Populi" were

posted on the walls of the city and the doors of public buildings threatening the direst penalties to those who should use the stamps. Similar scenes occurred in Philadelphia where the bells were muffled and the ships in the river lowered their colours to half-mast.

In New York things went even further. Vice-Governor Colden, who was most unpopular, in order to save the stamps, locked them up in the citadel. A mob seized his carriage and burnt it with his effigy and a copy of the Act at the very mouths of the cannon. Then they went to the citadel and demanded the stamps. Colden refused at first and threatened to turn artillery on them, but in their high wrath they dared him to do it; so, to save bloodshed he was forced to yield, and the stamps were carried off in triumph to the bonfires.

As time passed these popular tumults became less regular and presently died down; but the resolute opposition to the Act did not weaken in any degree.

The boycotting policy, carried out with such dogged perseverance, soon made itself felt in a very material way. The working of the Act had cost the British Government over £12,000 of which little more than £1,000 was recovered in duties from the placid colonies of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Florida and the West Indies. More fatal still was the fact that the whole colonial commerce of England, reckoned to be worth several million pounds sterling, was on the brink of ruin. The ordinances of the various provinces against the payment of debts due to Englishmen and the policy of "no British goods" had completely paralysed it. Several London merchants had lost heavily and this depression of a great trade was beginning to tell on the English public. Soon that defiant cry that rang out across the Atlantic was swollen with the prayers and

earnest petitions of the merchants, traders and the thousands of smaller fry attached to this vast interest.

In face of the turmoil the Grenville ministry was forced to resign, and the great British public which, scarcely a year previously, had so jubilantly applauded the taxation of "our American subjects" now hailed as deliverers the pacific ministry of Rockingham. Early in the new year Parliament opened with a conciliatory and perplexed speech from the King. Petitions and addresses from the assemblies, and reports from the Royal governors, were laid before both Houses which George III., voicing the sentiments of his ministers, hoped would throw some "light into the origin, the progress, or the tendency of the disturbance which had of late prevailed in some of his northern colonies."

Mr. Grenville, the cause of all the trouble, now in opposition, stubbornly advocated the taking of stern measures against the "ungrateful people of America," whom, he alleged, were in a state of virtual rebellion against the authority of Parliament. Mr. Pitt, who had risen from a sick bed to support the colonists, bitterly attacked the standpoint of the opposition. As regards Mr. Grenville's statement that "America was almost in open rebellion"—"Sir," declared Mr. Pitt, "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three million of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

He demanded the unqualified repeal of the Stamp Act coupled with a strong assertion of the sovereign authority of the British Parliament over the colonies "to extend to every point of legislation whatever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures and exercise any power whatever, except that of taking

their money out of their pockets without their consent." A committee of the whole House spent three weeks in investigating the cause of the trouble, and, having examined many witnesses and going into much documentary matter, it strongly recommended repeal.

General Conway, a consistent supporter of the American cause, now brought forward a Bill for the repeal of the obnoxious Act, together with a declaratory Bill asserting the power of Parliament to bind the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

The debate on these Bills lasted the whole of a cold night in early spring. But cold as it was the galleries were packed with merchants and traders who followed closely every word of the speeches, and anxiously awaited the decision. In the gray light of a bleak morning the Bills were passed by a large majority, and when the result was made known, the pent-up feelings of the eager watchers burst out in a cheer of relief and joy.

When Pitt, Conway, Burke and the prominent supporters of the Bill appeared in the streets, crowds followed them applauding and waving their hats, whilst Mr. Grenville and his party were hissed and insulted.

Rejoicings were universal in the two countries; and in America, which was still at heart deeply attached to the mother-country, the jubilation ran still higher.

Joy-bells rang in all the cities; bon-fires burned on the hillsides; generous indemnities were voted by the assemblies to the sufferers in the riots; the anti-British boycott was removed; statues to the King and Pitt were raised, and portraits of General Conway and Colonel Barre were extensively sold.

The first clash between the mother and daughter was thus propitiously ended, and for a time the old cordial relationship was resumed.

CHAPTER III

"DISAFFECTION"

THE pacific ministry of Rockingham composed as it was of such discordant elements could not hope for a long life, and the end came in the following summer.

The new ministry had Grafton for its nominal head with Shelburne and Conway Secretaries of State and Charles Townsend Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Stubborn Mr. Grenville was still in opposition and carried on his anti-American campaign with unslackened vigour. A dogged man of narrow legal outlook he did not rest until he goaded the new Chancellor into action. "Cowards!" he exclaimed bitterly, "you dare not tax America." The taunt told, and the impulsive Mr. Townsend at once entered on that line of policy which had such dire consequences for his country.

Presently he brought in a bill imposing duties on tea, glass, paper, paints and lead to be collected at American ports by revenue commissioners created by a special Bill. But he did not stop here. The New York Assembly had deliberately refused to carry out the provisions of the Quartering Act, and another of Mr. Townsend's special bills declared it incapable of legislating until it altered its refractory attitude. These bills were, as usual, universally popular in England where they were regarded as

but just and proper. They met with little opposition in either House and were soon made law.

When news of these proceedings reached America the smouldering embers of discontent were once more fanned into flames. Massachusetts, foremost always in the cause of liberty, protested vigorously through her representatives and called upon the other provinces to unite in resistance. The hardy burghers of Boston were again active. The "Liberty" sloop, belonging to the popular leader, Mr. John Hancock, was seized for a breach of the revenue law and forthwith a riot broke out and His Majesty's newly made commissioners had to flee for their lives to Castletown.

Governor Bernard, on instructions he had received from the Colonial Office, demanded of the Massachusetts House of Assembly the withdrawal of their resolution suggesting a colonial congress. They refused, and were at once dissolved.

Matters were becoming so grave in Boston, where there were popular outbreaks nearly every night, that four regiments of troops were ordered there. In the meantime a convention of delegates from the province assembled and protested against the new duties and the coming of the soldiers, stating that they were quite able to keep the peace themselves. On the suggestion of Mr. Samuel Adams—a far-seeing person of whom we shall hear more—they advised all men to see to their guns "on account of the coming war with France."

After warm avowals of loyalty the convention broke up on the very day that General Gage led the four regiments into the city.

The soldiers were soon made to realise that they had entered a hostile city. There were no free quarters

forthcoming for them, nor wood, nor soap, nor candles, nor any of the other articles that the Quartering Act decreed. Resolutely, from the first, did the stern and serious people of Boston refuse them any thing that lay in their power to give them, and in general, rigidly refrained from having any sort of social intercourse with them.

As a protest a day of fasting and prayer was ordained which was kept with a thoroughness which much surprised the clergy.

On the 8th November, the King opened Parliament and laid stress "on the state of disobedience to all law and order in the capital town of Massachusetts." There was to be no inquiry into the cause of this disobedience but "seditious" persons were to be dealt with heavily.

This promise was soon kept. On the 15th December the Duke of Bedford moved that all information relating to the commission of treasons since 30th December, 1767, should be sent home for investigation; and, that all notorious persons "who were most active in the commission of such offences" should be brought to England for trial under an obsolete statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. With some show of opposition in the Commons this "firm measure" was passed by a large majority.

This was the worst blow yet, and of all the coercive code it grated most on the independent character of the Americans. The other enactments but harassed property; this directly threatened individual liberty. It caused a stir which swept into the popular movement those prudent men of substance who had so far held themselves aloof.

Mr. George Washington, living the quiet life of a

farmer at his pleasant place on the bank of the Potomac, grew greatly indignant when he got news of this. "Our lordly masters in Great Britain," he exclaimed, "will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American liberty." And, still exasperated, he wrote a little later: "That no man should scruple or hesitate to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing (as liberty) is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource."

The Virginian House of Burgesses sent a loyally worded protest to the King, whereupon it was promptly dissolved by the Governor, Lord Botetourt. Nothing daunted, it adjourned to the Raleigh Inn where, under the presidency of Mr. Peyton Randolph, it renewed the former resolutions, boycotting all articles of British manufacture. This was to be carried out thoroughly; and committees were appointed in every district to ensure that all offenders should be duly punished. "Our all is at stake," wrote Mr. George Mason, Mr. Washington's friend, "and the little conveniences and comforts of life, when set in competition with our liberty, ought to be rejected, not with reluctance, but with pleasure." This policy was soon endorsed by the country and spread to all the provinces.

And here the women took a prominent and active part. In Boston, fifty young women started the "Daughters of Liberty" Society to co-operate with the "Sons of Liberty." The "Daughters," as the "Sons," were pledged to support home manufactures and never, on any account, to purchase the most insignificant item of British origin. All who could spin were thus employed, and the rest were set to sewing and other women's duties. In leisure hours they gave entertainments and parties which were, needless to say, attended

very well, by the "Sons," and at which there was much singing of patriotic ballads, including Mr. John Dickenson's very popular "Liberty Song." Here are some verses of this famous song which was sung to the air of "Hearts of Oak":—

Our worthy fore-fathers, let's give them a cheer,
To climates unknown did courageously steer
Thro' Ocean, to deserts, for freedom they came
And dying bequeathed us their freedom and fame.

CHORUS:

In Freedom we're born, and in Freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready,
Steady, friends, steady,
Not as slaves, but as Freemen our money we'll give.

CHORUS:

The tree their own hands had to liberty reared
They lived to behold growing strong and revered
With transport they cried, "How our wishes we gain
For our children shall gather the fruits of our pain."

CHORUS:

Swarms of placemen and pensioners soon will appear,
Like locusts deforming the charms of the year.
Suns vainly will rise, showers vainly descend,
If we are to drudge for what others shall spend.

CHORUS:

Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall,
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For Heaven approves of each generous deed.

CHORUS :

All ages shall speak with amaze and applause
Of the courage we'll show in support of our laws,
To die we can bear—but, to save we disdain,
For shame is to Freedom more dreadful than pain.

On these occasions light refreshments were provided and, instead of tea, a mixture of raspberry leaves, called “hyperion,” was drunk.

America owes much to the heroism and self-denial of her eighteenth century daughters who endured the hardest privations and bitterest trials rather than yield the slightest degree on any matter of principle.

On May 31st, 1769, the Massachusetts House of Representatives met for the first time since its dissolution and decided that it was inconsistent with its dignity to legislate in the midst of armed force, which, it declared, was “highly dangerous to the people, without precedent, and unconstitutional.” Bills incurred in finding quarters for the troops were tendered, but it indignantly refused to pay them.

A similar thing happened at the South Carolina Assembly resulting in its dissolution; but the members met surreptitiously and adopted the Virginian Non-Importation resolutions. Meanwhile matters were not moving too smoothly in the parent country.

The new taxes for the first year had produced only £16,000 and the expenses had already mounted up to £170,000. The merchants and traders were loud in their complaints at the rapid decline of trade, the result of the boycotting plan which had been renewed with the old thoroughness. The garrison was now, seventeen months in Boston and its relationship with the civilians,

always strained, had become openly hostile. Being English, the soldiers looked down upon the mere colonials, and their officers strutted about with unbearable haughtiness.

One day a rope maker thrashed a soldier, who came back with a body of his comrades to exact vengeance. In the fight that followed, the ropemakers were again victorious, and the chagrined soldiers returned in great force, and badly mauled the rope-makers. This greatly inflamed the minds of the citizens, and determined them on retaliation. One evening some hundreds, armed with sticks and clubs paraded the streets threatening destruction to the soldiers. A picket guard under Captain Preston fired upon them, killing four and severely wounding five. Immediately the whole town was in a commotion. The cry went forth, "The soldiers are risen!" Bells were rung, drums were beaten, and on all sides citizens flew to arms. But for the Vice-Governor Hutchinson the insurrection would have broken out then and there. Speaking from the town house, he expressed regret for the happenings of that evening, and promising a strict inquiry into the circumstances, he bade them be calm and go home.

Next day Mr. Samuel Adams visited the Vice-Governor and got him to remove the troops from the City.

This business left a deep bitterness in the heart of the people. It was the first time in history that the King's soldiers had fired on colonists who gloried in their loyalty. As time passed the soreness was but little assuaged; for the proud Bostonians could never forget that, on the 5th of March, in the year 1770, "blood lay in puddles in King Street." It was the subject of many songs and pamphlets, and every year the anniversary was solemnly kept. Shortly after its occurrence the following leaflet

was largely distributed: "Americans! Bear in remembrance the horrid massacre perpetrated in King Street, Boston, New England, on the evening of March 5th, 1770, when five of your fellow-countrymen, Gray, Maverick, Caldwell, Atticks, and Carr lay wallowing in their gore, being basely and most inhumanly murdered, and six others badly wounded by a party of the XXIX. Regiment under the command of Captain Thomas Preston.

"Remember! that two of the murderers were convicted of manslaughter by a jury of whom I shall say nothing, branded in the hand, and dismissed. The others were acquitted and their Captain pensioned!

"Also bear in Remembrance that, on the 22nd day of February, 1770, the infamous Ebenezer Richardson, informer and tool to ministerial hirelings most barbarously murdered Christopher Seider, an innocent youth! Of which crime he was found guilty by his country on Friday, April 20th, 1770, but remained unsentenced!" etc., etc.

Three days afterwards the shops were shut and the bells tolled as a vast procession, walking six abreast followed the victims to the church-yard.

Captain Preston was presently put on trial and successfully defended by the able young lawyer John Adams, who, by so doing, greatly hazarded his popularity.

American lawyers, either actively supported the British Government, in the hope of getting some lucrative appointment, or preserved a prudent and colourless neutrality, which would enable them, at a moment's notice, to embrace enthusiastically the triumphant side.

John Adams was one of the few members of the bar, who, from the beginning, boldly threw in his lot with

the people's cause. Fancying him to have the same servile mentality as his professional brethren, the King's friends thought to bribe him with the Attorney-Generalship of the Court of Admiralty. But he was incorruptible, and resolutely refused the prize. Thirty years afterwards the people rewarded his services by electing him second President of the United States. •

Meanwhile a change had taken place in the English ministry which resulted in Lord North succeeding the Duke of Grafton as head of the Government. The new first lord set to work to carry out the promised reforms, and on the very day of the Boston Massacre, introduced a bill to repeal all Townsend's Acts but the duty on tea.

A vigorous opposition had agitated for the wiping out of all the offensive measures, Pownall pointing out that the tea tax would only realise £300. But North was unshakable. He was contending for a principle, and "a total repeal could not be thought of till America was prostrate at our feet."

However, this conciliatory effort had a soothing effect on the disturbed feelings of the colonists. The New Yorkers determined by a big majority, to resume commerce with Britain, and orders came pouring in to the London offices, for every kind of produce but tea. The other colonies in time followed suit.

For three years there was a lull in the popular unrest and it would seem that, relieved of the greater ills, the Americans were prepared to suffer the lesser ones in silence.

CHAPTER IV

REBELLION OR REVOLUTION?

A STRANGE calmness had now fallen on the colonies which Commodore Hood at Boston foolishly mistook for the tranquillity of subjection. "The worst is passed and the spirit of sedition is broken," he wrote to Grenville in high self-confidence.

But he was soon to be disillusioned. Fractious Massachusetts was far from submissive, and although she consented with the other provinces to call off the anti-British embargo she insisted on a rigid boycott of British tea. The inflexible Mr. Samuel Adams who had made up his mind at this early stage for ultimate independence, was too astute a politician to let the popular feeling drop altogether. He consolidated the organizations by instituting a system of local committees in the various centres who were to keep up a continual correspondence on all matters of public weal.

In March Mr. Hutchinson was appointed to the governorship of Massachusetts; an office he had long coveted and worked for, but one he would have much rather done without at this unsettled time. It was natural that a person of his anti-democratic and conservative turn of mind would often fall foul of the dogged and unbending men who formed the Massachusetts House of Assembly.

The first breach occurred on the question of his salary. He informed them that he would no longer require an allowance from them as henceforth the Crown would pay all his expenses direct. The House indignantly protested, knowing that it was but a dodge to deprive them of any control over the Governor.

But this was small to the sensational event that followed.

Governor Hutchinson, and his assistant Oliver, had written many letters to the London Ministry, since the trouble began, drawing unpleasant pictures of the people's leaders and advocating an indefinite period of firm regime. Now, it chanced that at this time the colonial agent in London was shrewd Dr. Franklyn. These letters fell into his hands by accident, and he lost no time in despatching them to Boston where they were read in the House of Assembly with great indignation.

A petition was immediately sent to the King by the burgesses praying for the removal of "the Governor Hutchinson and the Vice-Governor Oliver, for ever from the government of the province."

When the day came on for the hearing of the case Dr. Franklyn appeared at the Privy Council to support the petition. The Crown retained Mr. Wedderburne, the Attorney-General, thereby giving the matter the semblance of a state trial. Mr. Wedderburne, seeing that he was amongst friends, poured forth a flood of violent abuse on America in general and on Dr. Franklyn in particular. He plainly accused the Doctor of theft, and wound up by asking the Council to "mark and brand this man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind."

During the incident Franklyn remained as imperturbable as a sphinx. He scarcely stirred, and no change

passed over his mild and good-humoured countenance. But the insults had cut deep. He left the room vowing never again to wear his familiar suit of brown until he had received satisfaction. He put it on, as we know, just ten years later, at the signing of the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States.

Whilst this controversy was taking place, a daring piece of lawlessness was done by the Rhode Island "Sons of Freedom." The armed revenue cutter "Gaspé" was enticed on to shoals near Providence, and there boarded and burnt. A reward of £600 and a free pardon to any accomplice who should turn informer, failed to discover the guilty persons. The outraged government passed a new act sending to England for trial, "all persons concerned in the burning, or destroying of His Majesty's ships, dockyards or military stores."

Owing to the vigorous boycott, the East India Company's trade had fallen so low that a stock of 17,000,000 lbs. of tea was accumulated in their stores. The Government, in consequence of the Company's petitions, removed the export duty from England and only kept on the import duty of 3d. per pound into America. The colonists would thus have the tea much cheaper than ever before.

But the Government, even yet, did not know the American temperament. "The British Ministry," wrote Dr. Franklyn, "have no idea that any people can act from any other principle but that of interest, and they believe that 3d. in a pound of tea . . . is sufficient to overcome all the patriotism of an American."

Tea ships presently arrived in Boston Harbour, and the country was once more plunged into a state of turmoil. An appeal to "friends, brethren, and countrymen" was distributed through the city. It stated that "that worst

of all plagues, the detested tea, . . . is now arrived in harbour. The hour of destruction, or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny, stare you in the face," etc., etc., and wound up by exhorting "every friend to his country" to attend a town meeting at Faneuil Hall.

This meeting resolved that, at all costs, the tea must not be landed. The consignees were several times asked to resign their commissions, and the ships were ordered to return to London. It was presently noised abroad that on the 17th December, the naval authorities in the harbour intended to force the "pestilential herb" ashore, and the people determined to take action.

So, on the night of the 16th, twenty-five men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, hurried down to Griffin's Wharf, boarded the vessels, and there, coolly and deliberately, in clear moonlight, tumbled into the bay every chest of "the fatal plant of India's shore."

The example of Massachusetts was followed, to a milder extent, in the other colonies. At Charlestown alone was the tea landed, but it was soon destroyed by being stored in damp cellars.

When the news of this business came to England, the King and the country were stirred to the highest pitch of fury. Five bills of a most penal nature were swiftly passed with little opposition beyond that of Burke and Pitt. The Port of Boston was shut until the town should indemnify the East India Company for the loss of its tea. The great charter of Massachusetts was annulled, the colony in future to be directed by a council nominated by the Crown. This Council could appoint and remove all sheriffs, and these sheriffs had the sole right of returning juries. All meetings were proclaimed except during election times, and all soldiers were to be

quartered wherever necessary in Massachusetts. Worst of all, the civil governor was recalled, and General Gage filled the two-fold post of Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

In the may of 1774 General Gage arrived in Boston with a formidable array of military force. He received addresses of welcome, condemning the seditious spirit that was abroad and expressing sentiments of the deepest loyalty from the official class, some of the wealthier merchants and nearly all the members of the bar. He was soon busy putting the Acts into working order.

Soon the gay and busy capital was a desolate place, with closed shops and empty wharves. But the Bostonians were not subdued. They started to collect and organise their forces for resistance, and sent agents into the other colonies to solicit support.

The Bill was printed on black-edged paper with a skull and cross-bones in place of the royal arms.

The whole Continent was aroused presently, and resolutions of sympathy and promises of support poured into Massachusetts from the other provinces.

In the meantime the representatives of Massachusetts had moved to Salem where they adopted and signed a "Solemn League and Covenant." This bound them to break off all intercourse with Great Britain until the colony should be restored to the enjoyment of its rights, and to renounce all dealings with those who refused to enter into the compact.

They decided to send delegates to the General Congress which was to meet at Philadelphia in the following September. The Governor received word of these unlawful doings, and quickly despatched his secretary to dissolve the Assembly. When he arrived, the door

had been locked by wily Mr. Sam Adams, and the proclamation had to be read through the keyhole.

The Tories ranted against the Solemn League and Covenant as a "base, wicked and illegal measure," and succeeded in getting General Gage to issue a proclamation forbidding people to sign it, and commanding the local magistrates to apprehend all who published it, or offered it for signature. The patriots met this action by publishing the names of all Tories who signed addresses of welcome to General Gage, and by entirely disregarding the proclamation.

Tories began to crowd into Boston in large numbers from the country districts, where they suffered from the vehement resentment of the people. Labourers would not work for them; millers would not grind their corn; blacksmiths would not shoe their horses. No one would purchase from or sell to them. Every hand was turned against them. They retaliated by distributing letters amongst the soldiers in Boston Camp. "The friends of your King and Country," these letters ran, "hope and expect it from you, soldiers, that the instant rebellion happens, you will put (here a list of names) immediately to the sword, destroy their houses and plunder their effects, etc., etc."

In September, 1774, the first continental Congress met at Philadelphia. It solemnly protested against the coercive measures of the Government, and decreed that any person who should accept any office under the new form of government "ought to be held in abhorrence and considered the wicked tool of the despotism which was preparing to destroy those which God, nature and compact had given to America."

A non-importation association was formed, an address sent to the British people, and a loyal petition to the King.

The Non-Importation Agreement was signed by all members, and committees were appointed to detect and publish the names of those who should infringe the rules. This association was taken up all over the Continent and soon became a great power.

Amongst other things it stopped horse-racing, games, plays, dances, and all manner of sport and entertainment on the ground that "he only is a determined patriot who willingly sacrifices his pleasures on the altar of freedom." Feeling was mounting so high that bloodshed was expected at any moment. And it was not long in coming.

General Gage fortified the Neck of Boston, and as a countermove, the insurgent assembly organised 12,000 militia, and picked men to be ready for any emergency who were called "minute men."

They also collected and stored such provisions, ammunition and arms that they could lay their hands on.

The Governor sent out a body of troops under Major Pitcairn to seize these stores and to arrest Mr. Sam Adams and Mr. John Hancock, who were "on the run" at Lexington. They reached Lexington at five in the morning, and were surprised to find a company of 'minute men' drawn up on the green to meet them. "Disperse, you rebels! Damn you, disperse, disperse!" cried the Major, riding towards them. But the farmers kept steady. Pitcairn then gave the order to fire, and when the smoke of the volley cleared away, the minute men had scattered, leaving some of their number lying dead on the grass.

Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock, being warned by a Daughter of Liberty of their peril, had made good their escape.

The elated soldiers, having fired off three rounds in

high spirits, advanced on Concord, which they entered without opposition.

There they disabled two cannon and destroyed sixty barrels of flour. Meanwhile the news of Lexington had got round the countryside, and the ranks of the volunteers were speedily swelling. Farmers left their ploughs or their field work, and, taking their flint-locks, hastened to report to Mr. Buttrick who had assembled the insurgents outside Concord. From Concord, through fatal Lexington and on to the gates of Boston the soldiers had to run a murderous gauntlet on their return march. Every hillock, every tree, every fence, every length of hedge sheltered armed farmers who poured into the ranks of the red-coats an irregular but deadly fire.

"They seemed to drop from the clouds," said an English officer who was present.

At Lexington they were saved from utter annihilation by the timely arrival of Lord Percy, who met them with a column of infantry and some artillery. When at last they reached Boston, they dropped to the ground from sheer exhaustion, "with their tongues hanging out of their mouths."

The news of this victory of the armed citizens of Massachusetts spread rapidly through the continent and caused a great elation amongst the patriots.

Up to this, it was a favourite argument of the Tories, violently contradicted but still believed at heart by the people, that the arms of Britain were invincible.

"Nothing short of a miracle would gain them a single battle," wrote a famous Tory and he reminded them that the British armies "had already reaped immortal honours in the iron harvest of the field." War was, he warned them, "no longer a simple, but an intricate science only to be learnt by long years of study."

The rout at Concord stimulated the popular hopes and gave an impetus to the physical force movement. Its first result was the spontaneous rising of the people round Boston, and the consequent shutting up of Governor Gage and his army in the city.

These events were scarcely a month old when the cheering news came that Arnold the horse-dealer had captured the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which commanded the highway into Canada.

On the 10th of May the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia with delegates from most of the colonies. These delegates were by no means unanimously elected. The very strong Tory element was beginning to get active, and in several districts in the various provinces the Congress was completely ignored.

Thus, in Pennsylvania the Tories were in a majority, and the delegates to Congress from that State, could not be said to represent it.

In one place two men met, and one made the other a delegate, and in many instances only a hundredth part of the voters came forward. In North Carolina ten out of the thirty-four counties sent no representative to the convention called for appointing delegates to Congress; and in several of the other counties self-appointed committees of ten or twelve nominated the delegates.

The Tories were so strong in Georgia that only five out of the twelve parishes sent delegates, and, although a minority in the province, they elected delegates who refused to act. In New York there were heavy majorities against sending delegates in the Long Island district, but in spite of this, the minorities met and sent delegates.

There never was a government set up in any land with less power to control or bind, or greater difficulties

to face; than the second Continental Congress. They had no money, no constitution, no authority over a square yard of territory, no force to back their orders, and no moral support from many portions of the continent. Yet, with great boldness, they set to work to direct a country in turmoil and in insurrection.

They still protested their loyalty to George III., but it was little more than nominal. They assumed the collective name of "United Colonies," and decreed coercive measures against any province that would refuse to recognise their authority. The Non-Importation Agreement was to be more rigorously carried out than ever, and it was made an offence against the people to supply any British force or officer.

They took control of the Continental Army before Boston, made arrangements for resistance and unanimously appointed Mr. George Washington of Virginia, Commander-in-Chief.

CHAPTER V

A SOVEREIGN PEOPLE

"I THINK I can announce it as a fact," wrote George Washington in 1774 to a British friend, "that it is not the wish or interest of that government (Massachusetts) or any upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence."

And when Washington wrote this he was perfectly sincere; yet two years later, with equal sincerity, he was amongst the first to endorse the Declaration of Independence. It serves to show the extraordinary progress the independence idea made, when, in so short a time, the intensely conservative and loyal prejudices of an aristocrat like Washington were so completely shattered.

The redoubtable Mr. Samuel Adams was probably the only prominent patriot who could be said to have been a determined, but a discreet, separatist from the beginning of the trouble. Indeed it is not so clear that American Independence is not due in an indirect way to this austere burgher of Boston. He seems to have seen the vision of ultimate freedom and state consolidation so far back as the year 1768, when, during the temporary lull after the repeal of the Stamp Act, he established his system of correspondence with the other colonies.

And truly Mr. Adams and his associates had a hard

task. America was intensely loyal to the British connection, and her sons prided themselves more on the name of Englishmen than on that of Americans. All things English were fashionable and all things American were looked down upon as low and provincial. Even after the Boston Massacre and the tea riots Mr. Washington referred to England in his correspondence as "home."

So attached was the great continent to the parent country that it is probable that the hostile measures of the British Government, suicidal indeed as they were, would not, by themselves, have been enough to have caused the breach. The people had to be educated to the idea by weary months and weary years of quiet and persistent propaganda.

The "Sons of Freedom," that semi-secret and active society of bold and zealous young men who never hesitated in their obedience to the most extreme decrees of their leaders, was Mr. Adams' best agency for the circulation of his ideas. Its swift and quiet efficiency and record of daring deeds attracted to its ranks the adventurous and the youthful in every colony. Soon it spread to the cities and towns and villages, and even percolated to the back woods and hinterland of that vast country.

Whenever local leaders were weakening in the agitation, whenever there were signs of compromise, the "Sons of Freedom" took prompt measures to put things on the right lines again. A party within a party, they were the fan in the movement which kept the ashes of discontent aglow. And when things had come to a head at Boston they organised the resistance at Lexington and rushed the pace into the spontaneous uprising of the people that followed.

Most of the Americans were at first listless and neutral, interested only in what pertained to their own personal good. About a third of the whole continent was strongly Tory and carried on an active and very damaging propaganda against the popular party. The patriots were a comparatively small body of the population, but they were energetic, determined, and well organised under excellent leaders.

The Tories had many able but unscrupulous writers who continually poured forth in the press and in pamphlets a series of half-truths and falsehoods which had an enormous effect on certain classes. "The rotten regiments of rag-fair," as they called the American volunteers, would never achieve independence; and, even if they did, "unfortunate America would be a scene of bloody discord and desolation for ever." Internecine war, they prophesied, would continue in a free America until one province had conquered the rest. Rivington's "Royal Gazette," the chief Tory newspaper, asserted that England was as necessary to America's safety and honour "as a parent to his children in an infant state," and consequently "the dream of independency must vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision."

Strong and bitter party feeling began to break out all over the colonies. In New York and Pennsylvania the Tories were in a majority, and in Georgia and Maryland they were evenly divided. In the Northern provinces the division of parties went along religious lines to a very large extent. The Presbyterians and Non-conformists supported the popular movement whilst the Episcopalians were staunch for the King and taxation. In the South the religious question did not arise, members of every sect being found on either side.

Mr. John Adams has said that were it not for Virginia

on the one side, and New England on the other, New York and Pennsylvania would have gone entirely Tory. Maryland, too, was saved for America only by the active campaign carried on in every country by Mr. Samuel Chase and the Irish American, Mr. Carroll, of Carrollton.

The British Government was hopeful of much support in North Carolina where the Scotch Highland settlements in the uplands under Macdonald unfurled the royal standard and declared for the King. Macdonald's irregulars, however, were severely beaten by a host of militiamen under Colonel Richard Caswell, and Tory activity in the Colony was thus completely crushed.

This victory for the popular cause had a big moral effect. Within ten days ten thousand farmers joined the militia and a provincial congress was assembled which at once instructed its delegates to support the proposed Declaration of Independence.

Thus North Carolina, from being one of the most loyal provinces, was the first to lead the way to independence. After Concord and Lexington the idea of independence spread rapidly, and men no longer concealed their real views. The blood recently spilt had shocked many, and the loyalty of the common people was rudely shaken.

Just at this critical time Thomas Paine published his famous pamphlet, "Common Sense," strongly advocating separation and preaching the doctrine of the inherent sovereignty of the people. Events had prepared the public mind for it, and it was universally read and endorsed.

The agitation now spread upwards into the provincial assemblies, and soon a number of them followed the lead given by North Carolina.

On the 7th of June, 1776, Mr. Richard H. Lee, believing

the time to be ripe, brought forward the motion at the Continental Congress "that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, independent states; and that the political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved." Next day the motion was debated behind closed doors and was passed with much ado, by a bare majority of one—seven colonies voting for, and six against.

This bare victory for the separatists was wisely not accepted as final, and the matter was adjourned until Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and the other conservative states, could be brought more into line.

On the 7th June, Virginia published a declaration of her own independence and this bold act quickened the popular pulse of the country. Presently conservative Pennsylvania gave way, and in a little while was followed by new Jersey and Maryland.

Twelve colonies now stood pledged to independence. New York alone, the bulwark of American Toryism, still obstinately held out against the overwhelming wishes of the confederacy.

A committee was appointed with Mr. Thomas Jefferson as Secretary, to draw up a declaration of independence. By the end of June Mr. Jefferson had his draft ready, and on the 4th of July it was read "in awful solemnity" to the assembled congressmen.

This great document is too familiar to be quoted here at any length. It accepted the doctrine of the equality of mankind, and laid down the now famous and often quoted formula "that governments are instituted amongst men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new

government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." When the solemn document was read, the delegates representing twelve commonwealths, walked to the President's table and duly signed it.

They had come to Philadelphia a few days before little more than the leaders of a powerful political party. They returned to their homes after session, the representatives of a new nation and of a sovereign people.

CHAPTER VI

ENEMIES

THE blood spilt at Concord and Lexington had rendered hopeless any chance there might have been of peace between the parent country and her colonies.

The British jingoists, then as now a powerful and arrogant body, were surprised and indignant at the rout of their veterans by the farmer volunteers of Massachusetts. They sought for nothing now but revenge and the speedy and stern suppression of what they called rebellion.

On the other hand the American nationalists were equally uncompromising. They hailed with joy the victory of Concord in which they saw at last an opportunity of realising their dreams.

Undoubtedly, mild men on either side strove to effect a reconciliation, but of course with no success.

Both countries accepted the inevitable and eagerly prepared for the pending struggle.

And here we will take a short survey of the organisation, equipment and personnel of the rival forces.

After the Boston "Tea Party," the civil governor of Massachusetts, as we have seen, was recalled, and General Gage was sent to Boston as Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief with plenary powers for dealing with

the "rebels." He was supported by ten thousand first class British regulars and a large fleet under Commodore Hood. This force, both by the London Cabinet and General Gage was at first thought ample to quell the turbulent people of Massachusetts, and prevent the disaffection from spreading. But after the severe defeat at Concord, and the stubborn resistance of the raw colonials at Bunker's Hill, this optimism soon faded, and more thorough measures were taken by the home Government to deal with the distemper.

British historians, with proverbial lack of candour, have striven to show that Britain made little or no preparations for the American campaign, letting it be surmised that, had she done so, the result of the contest would have been reversed. But the facts of history are against this allegation.

In the first place, England had then been enjoying close on twelve years of peace—the sequel to the victorious ending of that terrible struggle which drove Montcalm from Canada and Lally and Indian native power from India. Her armies were still mainly composed of those valuable Seven Year War veterans, and officered by captains who, at any rate, had received the priceless training of the battlefield.

Not only were her home forces fully equipped and organised, but they were very largely added to by a vigorous recruiting movement. Then again George III. did not disdain to send his officers throughout Europe to purchase troops from foreign potentates. Those agents got scant courtesy from Catherine of Russia, and from the Government of the Netherlands, but their offers were eagerly grasped at by the Duke of Hesse; and soon 30,000 ruthless mercenaries were enlisted under the British flag. The sale of the Hessians caused wide-

spread indignation. Frederick the Great of Prussia ordered his customs officials to collect a cattle-tax on all that passed through his dominions; and Schiller and Mirabeau used their powerful pens in protest.

These same Hessians it will be recalled, had much to do in suppressing the Irish Republican movement of 1798.

The American Redskins had always cherished a deep hatred of the colonists. They looked upon them and in truth with great reason, as invaders who had wrecked their villages, thieves who had stolen their rich lands, and tyrants who had driven them forth into the interminable forests and out on the barren prairies. They were always ready to lend their fierce aid to any body of white men who would lead them against the detested enemy. All through the Seven Years War they had been the brave and consistent allies of France; and the people of Virginia and Pennsylvania still recalled with a shudder their frightful slaughter of Braddock's army on the banks of the Monongahela.

With a little coaxing Britain secured these inexorable and passionate people as her staunch confederates. King George had one more ally, in a way the most useful of them all—the American Tories or “Loyalists” who formed at least a third of the white population.

The number of Tories who bore arms against their fellow-countrymen has been variously estimated. Both Woodrow Wilson and Sabine put it at 25,000, and Van Tyne, the Tory historian, declares it to have been over 50,000. But whatever the actual figure, all authorities support the remarkable fact that the Tory Militia by itself outnumbered the entire republican army so late in the contest as the year 1779. In an address to the King in that year it is stated that their countrymen “then in

His Majesty's army, exceeded in number the troops enlisted to oppose them." The same statement is emphasised in a document to both Houses of Parliament in 1782. "There are many more men in His Majesty's provincial regiments than there are in the Continental service."

Over thirty regiments, recruited wholly from Tories, took a very active part in the campaign. The names of these regiments indicated their sympathies—The Queens' Rangers, the South Carolina Loyalists, the Maryland Loyalists, the Loyal Foresters, the Orange Rangers, etc., etc.

Estimating the British regulars at 50,000 we have 30,000 Hessians, at least 25,000 Tories, and an unknown horde of Indians arrayed against the colonists.

As for the leaders of this formidable host little can be said. Burgoyne, Clinton, the two Howes, Cornwallis and Rawdon were all men who had had military experience, but, with the exception perhaps of Cornwallis, none of them displayed much military talent. In generalship and strategy the American captains were vastly their superiors. The best that can be said of them is that they were no better nor no worse than the average British captain in any age, and that they certainly did all that dull men with very definite limitations could do for their country. A genius like Marlborough with half the force, or a competent and careful organiser like Wellington with the whole force, could have reduced the country within two years. Even as it was they were victorious in most of the big engagements and probably would have triumphed ultimately had it not been for the timely arrival of French help.

When we turn to the revolutionary force we find a striking contrast to this large and well-provided army.

For the purposes of warding off Indian incursions and generally preserving peace, each province had long been accustomed to raise and control a small body of armed men. The jealous fear amongst the colonists of anything like a standing army, was so strong that this body had to be disbanded every year. The result was that the militia, as it was called, was by no means in a healthy condition. The men were badly armed, badly uniformed, but ill provided with clothing and munitions, and, worst of all, utterly lacking in discipline. Yet the militia was the nearest approach the Americans had to a trained army, and, were it not for other elements, their hopes of successful resistance would have been faint indeed.

The "Sons of Freedom," as we have seen, had been taking an active part in the passive campaign against Britain. But the growing aggression and insults of the London Ministry had been gradually tiring them of pacific measures never much to their liking, it must be admitted; and we find them in 1775 enrolling thousands in their societies pledged to armed opposition. With relentless thoroughness their local "committees" published the names of all eligible men who refused to join them, and they were denounced as "inimical to the liberties of the colonies."

When General Gage began his fortification of Boston Neck, the older people grew alarmed, and the young men of Massachusetts went forth in the evenings to village greens and meadows where old veterans of the French wars drilled them in the stern duty of defence.

At Concord they proved their worth as fighting men when they routed "the finest soldiers in Europe," and drove them pell-mell into Boston, incidentally stopping ~~for~~ ever the cry of cowardice which used to be so often levelled at them.

No revolution was more spontaneous than the American. When the news of Concord spread through the Continent and men realised the incredible event, fear and caution were forgotten, and the highways to Boston were dark with jubilant farmers rushing to the "Camp of Liberty" at Cambridge. They came from North, South, East and West, along great rivers, over plains and prairies and through primeval forests. They took with them their flintlocks, some pocketfuls of cartridges, a little food and the clothes on their back. They left behind them their wives, their children, their sweethearts and their homes.

Soon 12,000 had gathered round Boston ; a great undisciplined and fluctuating mass, saved only from being a mob by the noble enthusiasm that had sent them thither.

Yet this motley array held up in the city General Gage and his first class troops when the slightest effort on his part must have raised the siege and scattered them at will.

Meanwhile, the second Continental Congress met, and, in spite of grave disagreement, ordered that the colonies should be put into a state of defence, and that 20,000 men should be immediately raised. The enthusiasm and sublime abandonment that animated the farmers was, to a great extent, lacking among the Congressmen who were not a little concerned as to the outcome of the daring deed at Concord.

The activists won a big victory when this prudent and timid assembly, without any singleness of purpose, without authority over a rood of land, without an organised force behind it, and without the support of a third of the American people boldly decreed these revolutionary measures.

Bills of credit were issued and Mr. Washington from Virginia was unanimously made Commander-in-Chief.

The hour brought forth the man, for, had there been no Washington there would have been no freedom—at least for many years. It was a curious anomaly that the one person who inspired the respect and confidence of a turgid and suspicious democracy in a time of grave crisis was this conservative planter from the banks of the Potomac.

"There is something charming to me," wrote that staunch democrat, Mr. John Adams, "in the conduct of Washington, a gentleman of one of the first fortunes on the Continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, and hazarding all in the cause of his country. His views are noble and disinterested. He declared when he accepted the mighty trust that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses and not accept a shilling pay."

George Washington was at this time in the prime of life. He was above the average height and carried himself with a great dignity. He dressed neatly and often elegantly, and had the art of keeping himself spruce under the most trying conditions. His great talents, his earnestness, his lofty self-sacrifice, his powerful personality and outward calm gave him an authority and influence amongst his countrymen that few men have wielded.

On presenting him with his commission the Members of Congress solemnly pledged themselves to adhere to him with "their lives and fortunes." Yet, with strange inconsistency and timidity we find them a little later admonishing him in this wise: "We have the fullest assurance that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of every American soul, an

accommodation with our mother-country, you will cheerfully resign this important deposit committed to your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen."

On the 21st of June, 1775, General Washington left Philadelphia accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler. At New York he heard the news of Bunker's Hill, and, leaving General Schuyler in command, he hastened forward.

He reached the insurgent camp at Cambridge on the 2nd of July. The revolutionary Congress of Massachusetts presented him with an address, his soldiers received him with enthusiasm, and he entered upon his long and arduous task with the genuine goodwill and confidence of his people.

The Commander-in-Chief lost no time in taking the measure of his army. His investigations revealed an appalling state of affairs that would have discouraged all but one of his iron moulds.

The Rev. William Emerson, a chaplain with the Americans, leaves us a graphic picture of the camp before Boston.

"It is very diverting," he wrote, "to walk among the camps. They are as different in their forms as their owners are in their dress. Every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards and some are made of sail-cloth; some are partly of one and partly of the other. Others are made of stone and brick. Some are thrown up in a hurry: others are curiously wrought with wreaths and withes."

The soldiers were no more uniform than their abodes. With some outstanding exceptions no two of them agreed in arms, dress, discipline, or manners. They were drawn

from every grade and shade of society, and in their ranks were clergymen, lawyers, planters, merchants and doctors. Most of them, however, sprung from the hardy labouring and farming classes, and as the rough usage of active service began to tell on their single suit of clothes, the bitter Tory taunt of "tattered regiments of rag fair" became only too true.

But there was some attempt at organization and equipment. The Rhode Islanders, under the able soldier Nat Greene, of whom we shall hear a good deal, "were excellent," we are told, "and, in quite English order, housed in marquees."

The Marylanders wore scarlet uniforms turned up with buff, and Haslett's Delawares wore blue "like the Hessians." These were the exceptions. The vast majority were in their ordinary citizens' clothes; the officers wearing coloured sashes and cockades to distinguish them.

In this great mass there was little order and no discipline. They "mistook insubordination for independence;" would obey none but their own elected officers ~~and even~~ them not always; resented instruction, and started for home in large numbers as soon as their first fervour had abated. A system of rules had been sanctioned by Congress, which many of them refused to obey, and the traditional jealousies between the various states, came nigh breaking up the whole camp at times. At first they had no cannon, and when subsequently they got possession of the hundred pieces captured by Arnold at Ticonderoga, they had difficulty in finding men to manipulate them.

Washington's anguish was complete when he discovered there were scarcely nine cartridges to a man.

"Such a dearth of public opinion," he lamented, "and

such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility to obtain advantages of one kind and another I never saw before and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. I tremble at the prospect. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command."

Yet this sublime man rose superior to all distressing obstacles and grimly stuck to his post through those six terrible years. In eight months he had accomplished a transformation. Letting most of the first army disband, he built up a second one on a thoroughly military basis. He got a guarantee of payment from Congress as "there must be some other stimulus besides love of country to make men fond of the service."

He armed them with all the muskets he could lay his hands on and dressed them in "long hunting blouses." Yet, with all his efforts, his concessions and offers of pay, he could not prevail upon them to serve for longer than a year at a time.

After the fall of Boston he wrote to his brother: "We have maintained the ground against the enemy under this want of powder, and we have disbanded one army and recruited another under musket shot of two and twenty regiments, the flower of the British army, whilst our force has been but little if any superior to theirs and at last have beaten them into a shameful and precipitate retreat out of a place the strongest by nature on this continent, and strengthened and fortified at an enormous expense." He was proud, and justly so, of these fine achievements after his terrible ordeal. But, with the fall of Boston, his difficulties were not ended; in a sense they were but beginning.

Washington had a stiff grapple with Congress before

he could make it realise the necessity of a well paid and well furnished army. But he moved it by degrees. A cannon foundry was established in November, 1776, after nearly a year of fighting. Next year the Union Flag, the "Stars and Stripes," was adopted, a "Board of War" created, and, with the loan from France, the troops were clothed in uniforms of blue with buff facings.

It was in 1776 too, that volunteers from Europe began to come in considerable numbers. Many of these men were little better than selfish adventurers, but others, like Kosciusko the Pole, and La Fayette, the young French Marquis, were inspired by the noblest motives, and gave themselves wholeheartedly to the republican cause.

In the May of 1778, von Steuben placed himself under Washington's direction and was soon busy, in his thorough manner, reforming and recasting the army.

"In our European armies," he wrote, "a man who is drilled for three months is called a recruit; here in two months I must have a soldier." In a year's time he produced an army not very much behind the troops of Cornwallis and Howe in training.

If the Americans bear a grudge against the Hessians, they owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of the stern Prussian who aided them so signally in their hour of need. We have not space to go into any further detail here on the composition of the republican army. Its trials are part of the story of the revolution and will be recorded as they turn up in the narrative. Every pain, peril and set-back that afflicted armies at various times in history harrassed at one time or another the jaded troops under Washington.

Famine, exposure, disease, defeat, desertions, mutinies ~~and~~ played a part in that terrible agony which preceded the birth of the American Nation.

CHAPTER VII

WARFARE

PART I

ARNOLD'S brilliant capture of the great fort of Ticonderoga a month after the Concord affair put into American hands a much needed supply of ammunition and cannon. This success was followed up by the capture of Crown Point whereby the insurgents gained complete control of Lakes George and Champlain and of the highway into Canada. After a march of two hundred miles through two feet of snow and over a hitherto ~~unknown~~ country, the dashing Arnold next appeared before Quebec in the November of 1775. The young Donegal man, Montgomery, joined him on the 1st of December with the forlorn body of men who had just taken Montreal. The combined force numbered nine hundred, and, with this handful, Montgomery, who now took command, boldly laid siege to the city. He kept it up for three weeks, in spite of great lack of food, clothing and ammunition, with an army which disease was fast destroying and which want was making insubordinate. His few feeble pieces of cannon were worthless against the strong ramparts, and the enforced idleness was breeding mutiny amongst the men.

He had three plans left him : to surrender, to retreat,

or to attack. The first was dishonourable ; the second was out of the question ; he decided on the last.

And so it happened that on the last day of the year, in the thick of a violent blizzard, Richard Montgomery marched his men on the lower town of Quebec.

Having sawed through a line of stockades, he drew his sword and shouting, "Men of New York, follow your general!" he dashed forward, hoping to surprise the enemy's guard. But they were not to be taken unawares. A dense volley of grape shot swept down the American lines and the fearless Irishman, with his two aides-de-camp, fell pierced by many balls.

The fall of the leader disheartened the rank and file, and, although Arnold made several dogged attempts to effect a breach in the barriers, he was at length compelled to withdraw. The famished relics of this sad force made their way back to the colonies, and Canada was saved for Britain.

After the fall of Boston, General Washington transferred his headquarters to New York and was soon busy strengthening it against the expected foe.

In July the cheering news came to the wearied army in New York that Congress had passed the Declaration of Independence. It was a day of rejoicing in the midst of much doubt and anxiety. The troops were paraded, speeches were made, bells rang, and the royal arms and all royal signs were smashed.

Soldiers and citizens pulled down the leaden statue of George III. in the Bowling Green. The head was wheeled in a barrow to the Governor's house, and the remainder was sent to Litchfield where the Connecticut "Daughters of Freedom" moulded it into 42,000 bullets.

The first year of warfare was now over, and it had been one of unexpected success for the untrained levies

of the new Republic. But, as we shall see presently, this success was only temporary. The British were not going to relinquish this fair country without a hard and obstinate struggle.

North of the Potomac river lay the greatest part of the population and resources of the colonists. An obvious plan occurred to the British commander. Howe and Clinton were to attack and capture New York, and so get control of the Hudson; whilst Burgoyne, marching southwards from Canada, was to join them on the upper reaches of that river. Thus the whole of turbulent New England would be completely cut off and it was hoped to "pacify" it in a manner that would soon put an end to the outbreak in the Southern provinces.

In August General Howelanded 24,000 British and Hessians on Long Island, and later he was joined by Clinton's discomfited army which had been beaten back from Charleston. More reinforcements arrived, and in a little while he found himself at the head of 55,000 well-trained and well-provided troops.

~~Soon~~ after landing Howe sent a letter to "George Washington, Esquire," containing an offer of pardon to all who would submit. General Washington, however, returned the letter saying he was not accustomed to "receive in his private capacity any communication from the enemies of his country." Next a letter was despatched to "George Washington, etc., etc., etc.," which he also declined to open; but he had a short conference with Colonel Patterson, who bore it.

"I find you are only empowered to grant pardons," he said in concluding this interview; "we have committed no offence, we need no pardon."

The British offer of pardon was ordered by Congress to be published in every newspaper on the Continent

"that everybody might see how Great Britain was insidiously endeavouring to amuse and disarm them;" and a reply was sent officially that "not considering that their opposition to British tyranny was a crime, they therefore could not solicit pardon."

The American commander had only 11,000 troops, of whom 2,000 were without arms, to oppose the formidable host of Howe. But he did not falter, and lost no time in entrenching 9,000 men at Brooklyn to resist the British advance.

On the 27th of August the Americans suffered a big defeat, and the capture of Generals Sullivan, Sterling and Udell.

On the 12th of September Washington removed his head-quarters to the Heights of Haarlem, seven miles above the city. Shortly afterwards the British landed at Bloomingdale, two miles from the new American head-quarters. The guard of New England brigades, which had been stationed there to resist the advance on the city, fled without firing a shot. When he saw his best men run panic-stricken from the field the strong heart of Washington came near breaking. Seeming to court death he sat on his horse within eighty paces of the enemy, and exclaimed bitterly: "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" An officer turned his horse's head and hurried him from his perilous position.

The British now entered New York in triumph, where they were received by the large Tory population with the utmost joy.

Hearing that General Howe was about to overrun New Jersey, Washington hastily crossed the Hudson and joined General Greene at Fort Lee.

In a little while the British were assaulting Fort Washington. It was gallantly defended by Colonel Magaw, but

he was compelled to surrender owing to the cowardice of the garrison: and this great stronghold with 2,000 men and many pieces of cannon fall into the hands of the King's troops. Two days later a similar fate befell Fort Lee. The victors pushed rapidly onwards driving the Americans before them. One after another Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and all the towns of the Jerseys fell into their hands.

On the 8th December, General Washington, with his miserable shadow of an army of 3,000 famished and discouraged men, crossed the Delaware River, the only barrier now remaining between the English and the Congress at Philadelphia.

The American cup of bitterness was now full. Suspicion and alarm seized hold of every citizen. The lead was given by the divided and angry Congress where denunciations and mutual attacks were the order of the day. The young Republic was trembling on a volcano which might erupt at any moment and bury it in the chaos.

Although General Washington had come in for his share of abuse, he was the one strong man whom all trusted in this hour of panic. Congress, now driven from Baltimore to Philadelphia, invested him with supreme powers for six months. Generals Howe and Cornwallis returned to New York where they were received with wild enthusiasm by the jubilant Tories. They left behind them three regiments of Hessians under Colonel Rahl and some brigades of light horse and infantry to garrison and consolidate the conquests.

Eliminating the element of proportion, astounding things had been done in less than three months. Long Island, New York City and the rich province of New Jersey were in British hands. Washington had been

driven in terrible haste across the Delaware, and his tolerable army practically destroyed. Finally the brunt of the "rebellion" had been broken and the "rebels" in the reconquered regions were taking the oath of allegiance to the King in thousands.

Thus, surveying their work in the congenial atmosphere of New York, the British commanders felt they had a right to be proud; and they looked forward to some relaxation for themselves and their armies during the Christmas times.

As it was thought impossible for Washington's broken and disheartened relict of an army to recover, Rahl and his men entered fully into the spirit of the festive season in their comfortable winter quarters in Trenton. They expected daily the surrender of the Americans, and harboured the pleasing thought that the "rebellion" was on the point of collapse.

To justify the unbounded confidence Congress had placed in him, and to dissipate the deep gloom that hung over his country, Washington determined on carrying out a very daring deed.

He had been lately reinforced by General Lee, and he could now command 4,000 effectives. He proposed to cross the frozen Delaware at McKonkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, and fall upon the Hessians in that town. Christmas night was selected for the venture, as Rahl's men were sure to be carousing heavily over their recent victories.

Having made all preparations Washington struck camp, and led his men down to the river bank. A violent blizzard was blowing from the North, and, as the famished and ragged colonists neared the Delaware, they could hear the thunder of the smashing icebergs and the roar of the turbulent waters.

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Washington had hoped to have crossed the river by midnight, but it was four o'clock before the last boat landed its cargo on the opposite shore. The fury of the snowstorm and the icebergs tumbling down the surging current had made the transportation of the artillery and horses a matter of extreme difficulty. On the New Jersey side he divided his force. General Sullivan with one half advanced on Trenton by the lower road whilst he, with the other, went on the higher road, thus putting a pincers on the enemy encampment. The storm had abated and a heavy fog had arisen from the river which made still duller the weak visibility of the wintry morning. The distresses of the march were added to by the severe frost which had put a slippery surface on the snow-covered roads. The cold had made sad havoc on this tattered and ill-nourished army, killing two and affecting many with frost-bite. The route of these poor men was plainly drawn in blood on the white snow; for a large number of them were bootless, or but indifferently shod.

Fight in the morning they fell upon Trenton. Washington's surmise proved correct. Colonel Rahl and his Hessians were sleeping off the heavy orgies of the night before and were completely taken by surprise. There was a stiff fight in which the Colonel was killed and the town surrendered. The General was eager to push on but the terrible sufferings and exhausted condition of his troops stopped further action for the time being. So leaving a guard behind him, he recrossed the river and marched into Philadelphia with a thousand prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and four colours. This brilliant achievement caused widespread astonishment and joy. In Philadelphia, the citizens who were hourly awaiting a royal invasion, could hardly believe their eyes

when they saw the long line of dreaded Hessians marching captives through the streets.

It completely overawed the large Tory element and gave a new spirit to the drooping cause of the patriots. At New York the news of this performance of Washington's crushed and dispirited army, created amazement and consternation. The Christmas festivities were suspended, and Cornwallis, who was about to embark for Europe, hastily set forth to take command of the troops in New Jersey.

In the meantime Washington crossed over again to Trenton, and, with barely 4,000 men, prepared for a stubborn resistance.

After heavy fighting he was driven into an awkward corner with the Delaware behind him and only the Assumpink between him and Cornwallis. The position was one of great danger, for, once across the Assumpink the enemy had his whole army at their mercy. Something desperate had to be done at once.

In the evening he sent all his heavy baggage down the Delaware River to Burlington. The watch-fires ~~were~~ stoked up, the patrols ordered on their nightly rounds, and parties sent forth to labour on the entrenchments within hearing of the enemy sentinels.

At midnight the republicans silently stole from their camp and set out on a circuitous road, far behind the British rear, to Princeton.

Colonel Mawhood, leading the British 17th and 40th regiments to reinforce Cornwallis, came upon the American vanguard outside Princeton.

He was driven back on the town where the garrison was warned; and a short but terrible battle followed. The British fled, leaving their artillery behind them, and Washington entered the town.

Next morning, the deserted encampment before him and the sound of heavy firing from the eastward, revealed the ruse to Cornwallis, and he was soon marching in hot haste to Princeton. His vanguard entered the town as his enemy left it.

To Trenton now he grimly pursued the worn out, hungry and crippled republicans, many of whom were so exhausted that they dropped on the road, and fell asleep in spite of the intense cold.

The pursuit continued through Trenton and across the Kingston River, and only stopped that evening when Pluckemin was reached. Next morning the fugitives were safe in the mountain district of New Jersey; and Washington was able to quarter them for the winter in the strong position of Morristown.

Thus, by a masterly movement which saved his army and the city, this incomparable man redeemed the disasters of the summer and justified the confidence his fellow citizens had placed in him.

CHAPTER VIII

WARFARE

PART II

IN May General Burgoyne arrived in Quebec with full powers to prepare a powerful force for the invasion of the Republic from Canada. He was a man of energy, and in a short time, had collected and armed a large number of Canadians and Tories who were thoroughly familiar with the country.

Regiments of seasoned British and Hessian troops, with several able and distinguished officers, presently arrived from Europe; and, in little over a month, he marched southward at the head of 8,000 first-class men.

He halted at the Falls of Bonquet on the west shore of Lake Champlain where a host of Indians of the fierce Iroquois Nation joined him. He gave them a war-feast, and made use of the opportunity to work up their blood-lust and rouse them against the Americans.

It is true that he advised them against committing any barbarity on women, children and non-combatant males; and that they should limit themselves solely to the scalps of those slain in battle; but no one knew better than he how soon his mild injunctions would be ignored.

His sincerity can be gauged by the proclamation he

issued immediately afterwards to the "rebels." He listed their alleged crimes, and censured them for interning and confiscating the property of the "loyalists" who refused to take the oath to the "rebel" government. "He had come," he said, "armed with irresistible power to put down such outrages." Whilst he promised protection to those who remained quiet and brought in supplies, he threatened terrible penalties and the turning loose of the pitiless savages on all who should continue obdurate.

Of course the proclamation defeated its object. Its sole effect was to harden still more against him the stiff nature of the New Englander.

Burgoyne now advanced on Crown Point, which fell without a shot, and thence to Ticonderoga.

This powerful fortress which Arnold had taken so easily in the first months of the war, was guarded by 2,000 men under General St. Clair. Howe's activities in New Jersey compelled Washington to concentrate on his own army, with the result that the defences of the North had been neglected.

Ticonderoga stood on a promontory at the lower end of Lake Champlain, commanding the narrow channel leading into Lake George. On the mainland a great rugged cliff, covered to the summit with pines, towered above it. St. Clair could not spare the men to garrison this eminence, but he was confident that the difficulties of the ascent would deter the British Commander from attempting to seize it.

He could withstand a siege for some time, but not a bombardment from above.

The next morning the first rays of the rising sun fell upon the scarlet uniforms of the King's troops on the summit. As he peered upwards, St. Clair was further

astounded to make out a row of cannon with their black mouths hanging threateningly over the doomed stronghold. With incredible industry Burgoyne had hewn a road through massive forest in a few hours, up which he had conveyed his artillery.

At nightfall General St. Clair embarked his men and munitions on two hundred barges, and, covered by a convoy of armed galleys, they sallied across the lake to Skenesborough.

Burgoyne discovered the plan; but too late. However, he sent a body in pursuit which harassed their rear.

Ticonderoga was a heavy loss for the Americans. Over a hundred pieces of artillery and great quantities of stores and munitions fell into the hands of the captor. Burgoyne continued his victorious march. Fort Anne now fell to him, and the vanquished colonists retreated to Fort Edward.

So far Burgoyne's campaign had been a triumph. With hardly any loss, and in a few weeks he had taken three great fortresses, and now controlled the main waterway by the lakes into Canada. He had broken the American Army and driven it before him, dispirited and almost starving. He had laid waste the homesteads in the cleared places, and the valleys, and with the aid of his Indians and Tories had struck terror into the country for miles round.

Only sixteen miles of country now intervened between him and the Hudson. He felt he could spare a little rest to his men, and he halted for his baggage to come up.

The delay saved America. Had he pressed on then before the panic had subsided, and before General Schuyler got time to obstruct his path, he would certainly have reached Albany, joined with Clinton and thus brought his expedition to a successful finish.

When the news of these reverses got abroad a heavy depression and anxiety fell on the country. In Congress there were angry words and stormy scenes. Reproaches and even insults were heaped on Generals Schuyler and St. Clair; and Mr. John Adams did not hesitate to let out the ungenerous hint, "that we shall never be able to hold a post until we shoot a general."

In the meantime brave General Schuyler was not discouraged by these panicky taunts. Far from it, he declared his intention "to dispute every inch of ground with General Burgoyne," and went on serenely with his heart-breaking task.

He availed to the full of Burgoyne's delay. The stream of Woodcreek which is navigable and runs to within a few miles of the Hudson was blocked up and made useless. The road to Albany was a mere cutting through dense, unbroken forests. Giant trees on either side of it were cut, and as they fell their great branches interlocked. More than fifty bridges over streams, torrents and swamps were destroyed; and all cattle were ~~driven~~ off from the adjacent pastures.

When Burgoyne resumed his march he found he had to creep. With enormous effort, one mile a day was the most he could manage. In this way more than a fortnight went by, and it was not until the end of July that he emerged from the dreary forests and saw before him the beautiful Hudson.

He was jubilant and confident. He would presently be in Albany, and his juncture with Clinton after that was only a matter of a few days. His march continued without opposition. The terrified farmers scattered before him, and he burnt their houses, and their fields of golden maize and yellow wheat.

Meanwhile Schuyler evacuated Fort Edward, and

retired some miles down the Hudson to Cohoes Fall, where he now awaited the enemy.

At this time when fortune seemed to smile on him Burgoyne made a sinister discovery. His food supplies were beginning to give out. It was now near the middle of August, and but a month's provisions remained. At Bennington, twenty miles away, the "rebels" had gathered a huge quantity of provisions and ammunition. Skene, the Tory, who knew the country well, told him that these stores were poorly guarded, and that the whole neighbourhood was full of "loyalists," who only waited the opportunity to rise. Baum was despatched thither on the 26th of August with 800 Germans and a body of Canadians and Indians. The enthusiastic Skene and his "loyalists" went with him. Baum was to send back the much needed booty under a strong escort. He was then to scour the country, mobilize the "loyalists" that Skene had spoken of, terrify the inhabitants, and rejoin the main army at Albany.

Stark, with his New Hampshire irregulars, had been roaming about that district, and, having heard of Baum's advance, he sent for reinforcements to Warner at Manchester, and fell back on Bennington. Baum on his journey, made attempts to gather in the Tories, but he found to his dismay that, far from being sympathetic the whole country was outrageously "disaffected." Learning of Stark's activities Baum entrenched himself in a strong position above the Walloomscoik River, and sent to headquarters for more help. On the 15th rain fell so heavily that action was impossible, and Baum spent the day strengthening his entrenchments. The following morning was dry and sunny, and two columns of Americans were soon storming the enemy's ramparts. Old Stark was at their head, urging them forward with

his sword. As the British were forming on the hillside he shouted, "see, boys, there are the red-coats; we beat them to-day, or Sally Stark's a widow." After a desperate struggle of two hours Baum's men broke and fled in disorder towards the Hudson. This victory had a splendid moral effect on the dejected colonists. The militia signed on for a further period, and large numbers of farmers poured into the American camp, eager to avenge atrocities.

The army was still further increased by the daily arrival of strong bodies of troops from the south. By his perseverance and courage General Schuyler had saved the situation. Just when he had perfected his final plans for surrounding Burgoyne, General Gates arrived from Congress to take the command from him: The suspicion and hatred of the New Englanders had prevailed, and this gallant man was superseded when he was about to reap the reward of his months of weary toil. But he had too great a soul to let the bitter indignity affect his patriotism; and, in a subordinate capacity, ~~he~~ he helped Gates to win the palm that should have been his.

It was now past the middle of September, and dangers threatened round the army of Burgoyne. General Lincoln, with a body of militia, had eluded him and recaptured two strong forts in his rear, thus cutting off his supplies from Canada. He was by this time much outnumbered, and the scarcity of food was greatly deteriorating his men. His retreat was cut off, and his enemies were fast hemming him in on all sides.

In this position he crossed the Hudson, and, on the 14th of September, encamped on the heights of Saratoga. He still hoped that Clinton would come to the rescue. He had sent urgent messages to him, but most of them were

intercepted by his vigilant foe. At length, when he was on the point of despair, a letter in cypher reached him, saying that Clinton expected to be with him on the 20th. He sent off at once several despatch riders to say that he could not possibly hold out longer than the 12th of October.

On the 19th of September he fought a sharp action near the American camp at Bemis Heights. He held the field, but failed to dislodge the Americans, and lost about five or six hundred men that he could ill spare. He retired to his entrenchment where he spent sixteen terrible days vainly waiting for the expected succour.

It was now the 6th of October and within a fortnight he must give in. A council was held and the desperate plan of fighting their way through was unanimously decided on. And so, on the morning of the 7th with 1,500 picked men, Burgoyne gallantly marched out against his overwhelming foe.

In the meantime Clinton had been making wonderful headway up the Hudson. One by one the strong places fell before his artillery and on the same day that Burgoyne had led forth his chosen men, a large detachment under General Vaughan, sailed for Albany. Vaughan wasted valuable hours burning harmless river-side towns and devastating them in the most cruel and wanton manner along his route.

About two o'clock Burgoyne encountered the American main army, and the fateful conflict began. Several times the colonists charged the British artillery and several times they were driven back. Five times one of the pieces was captured and recaptured.

Colonel Crilly leaped upon a British cannon, and, waving his sword, dedicated it to the "American cause."

At last the British left was compelled to fall back. The

battle was now fast and furious. Fraser fell, shot by a sniper and Breyman, the German Colonel, was slain a little later. The British poured volley after volley into the American ranks, but the balls were checked by the dense woods, and fell for the most part harmless.

At nightfall the uneven fight came to an end, and Burgoyne withdrew the remains of his shattered army to a strong position above the river. No word had yet come from Clinton, and his starved soldiers were near the limit of their endurance. All fords and passages were carefully guarded by the enemy, and they were completely surrounded by an army three times their own size. They were further harassed by a continual fire. The women alone could fetch water from the river, for on them the colonists would not fire. Only three days' food remained, and there was no chance of a further supply.

Under these circumstances, Burgoyne called a council of his officers. Bullets whistled round the tent in which they were gathered, and a cannon ball flew across their table. The meeting was brief, for there was only one thing they could do.

In the evening the white flag was hoisted, and, on the following morning, the terms of the capitulation were agreed upon. On the night of the 16th Captain Campbell reached the British camp with a despatch from General Clinton. General Vaughan, the despatch told him, was advancing to his assistance. But it was too late. Their pledge was given, and next morning 5,790 men were surrendered to General Gates.

The surrender at Saratoga could not have happened at a more opportune moment for the new Republic.

In September Howe had beaten Washington badly on the Brandywine, and had pushed on to Philadelphia.

In October Washington was repulsed at Germanstown, the capital of the country fell into British hands, and Congress fled into the interior to Yorktown.

Schuyler's disasters in the North contributed to the depression and alarm that had taken hold of the Nation. The patriotic cause was gradually sinking; the republicans were becoming fearsome, whilst the Tories were becoming bolder day by day; and even sound patriots felt that the cause of independence was about "to vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision."

But the splendid news from Saratoga dissipated these gloomy clouds, and gave new hope and cheer to the sorely tried people.

Horatio Gates was the hero of the hour. Congress voted him thanks and struck a special medal for him with his portrait on one side and an image of Burgoyne presenting his sword to him, on the other. He was lionised in all the States, and his partisans, eager for him to get the supreme command, contrasted his success with Washington's failures.

"I was left," replied Washington in defence, "to fight two battles in order, if possible, to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed the armies of my antagonist. Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighbouring States as the States of New York and New England, we might before this time have General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne, with this difference—that the former would never have been out of reach of his ships, whilst the latter increased his danger every step he took." His critics forgot that, to have saved his army in a district which was whole-heartedly Tory, was greater than a victory under the circumstances.

One of the first fruits of Gates' victory was the

recognition of the United States by France in February, 1778. Later in the month the British Parliament tried to counteract this by offering peace to the colonies on the basis of submission and no taxation. But nothing would now satisfy them but the recognition of American independence, and the negotiations fell through; whereupon Britain declared war on France and Louis XVI. replied by fitting out a fleet under Admiral D'Estaing, which was to convey a strong force to America. The alliance with France was hailed with joy throughout the distressed country; old animosities were forgotten, and the French were acclaimed as saviours. But nowhere was the news more welcome than at the Valley Forge where Washington's exhausted army was languishing in very indifferent winter quarters. There were festivities and "His Excellency dined in public with all the officers of the army attended with a band of music." Later, when Washington took his leave, "there was a universal clap with loud huzzas which continued till he had proceeded a quarter of a mile during which time there was a thousand hats tossed in the air."

But the jubilations did not last long and the comfortable idea that there would presently be a victorious peace which prevailed for a while soon vanished.

The war had now lasted three years and the British gains had not been at all up to expectations.

They held the important cities of New York and Philadelphia, the harbour of Newport and the lower reaches of the Hudson and the Delaware. The rest of the country was still unconquered and seemingly unconquerable.

In May General Howe had returned in disgust to England and the chief command devolved on Sir Henry Clinton. He decided on a concentration of his

forces before the French appeared on the scene, and on the 18th of June he evacuated Philadelphia and made for New York. Washington was fast on his trail but Clinton cleverly eluded the Americans, and, marching in haste to Sandy Hook, he embarked on board the fleet of Admiral Howe, and was carried safely to New York.

He had barely escaped when a large French fleet under D'Estaing with 4,000 troops and the French Ambassador appeared off the Delaware.

Finding the English had escaped, D'Estaing pursued them, but the bar at Sandy Hook stopped his progress and he transferred his attentions to Newport in Rhode Island.

This proved another failure chiefly on account of the American delay. A severe storm shattered the French fleet, and it sailed to Boston for repairs.

An unpleasant estrangement between the Americans and their new allies resulted from this. D'Estaing was accused of desertion and inefficiency, and had it not been for Lafayette's efforts, things would have gone badly for the alliance.

At the close of 1778 Colonel Campbell sailed down the coast of Georgia and took Savannah. The following March General Prevost routed the republicans under Ashe at Brier Creek. The city of Augusta was also taken, and thus the whole of Georgia fell into the hands of the invaders.

In June the cheering news came that Spain had cast in her lot with America and France, and that already her ships were molesting the British on the high seas.

Clinton had long meditated a thorough reduction of the South where the population was sparser, and more "loyal" than in the north. And so it happened that

in the beginning of the year 1780 he sailed from New York with a powerful expedition for South Carolina.

On the 11th of April he laid siege to Charleston with 5,000 men, and was doggedly resisted by Lincoln with only 2,500 troops "of all sorts." After 42 days Lincoln was compelled to surrender on the condition that his men should be treated as prisoners of war, and that the State militia should not be made to take the oath of allegiance to Britain. Clinton, true to the traditions of his caste, shamefully broke his promises. He issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who should return to the King's allegiance, except "those who had imbued their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens." He then compelled all parties to espouse the royal cause and arm themselves for the purpose of "driving their rebel oppressors, and all the miseries of war, far from the province." He "released" the American prisoners from their parole and compelled them to take up arms against the Republic they had so recently defended. As he threatened to treat as rebels all who should ignore his orders, the majority complied with his savage stipulations.

Having thus established a reign of terror in Carolina, he left Cornwallis behind with 4,000 men, and returned to New York.

Meanwhile, Washington rushed to the South all the forces he could spare under General Gates. The victor of Saratoga was specially chosen for this work in the belief that his name would give confidence and new hope to the cowed and depressed republicans.

What with militia men and various irregulars his army soon grew to 6,000 men, of whom not more than 1,500 were well trained troops.

He now crossed a dry and barren land under a burning

sun; and his men had no food but the unripe peaches and green corn they gathered on the way. When Cornwallis heard of Gates' approach he set out to meet him with only 2,000 men, and the two armies encamped near the town of Camden.

The Americans with such a leader, were confident of victory; but, in the first charge the Virginian militia fled and never reformed, in spite of all the efforts of the General to rally them. The brunt of the battle was now very gallantly sustained by de Kalb and his small body of regulars. But they were no match for the seasoned Britishers; and, when the brave de Kalb fell with eleven wounds, they also ran panic-stricken from the field.

The merciless Tory Tarleton with his wild horsemen pursued them for thirty miles and cut down the stragglers with pitiless fury. Nine hundred men were killed, a thousand made prisoners, and all the artillery and baggage fell into the victor's hands. The Army of the South was smashed; but worse still, Gates was defeated!

Congress now clamoured for his removal, and Washington sent down General Nat Greene to take his place. The ruined General received the new chief with magnanimity, and, having given him all the information in his power, set out for the North and left for ever the pursuit of war.

"His long and dreary journey," says Johnston, "was a true picture of lost favour and fallen greatness. No eye beamed on him with a cordial welcome, no tongue saluted him in accents of kindness. He was everywhere met with frown or indifference, neglectful silence, or mournful censure. All recognized in him the fugitive from Camden; no one recognised the victor of Saratoga."

CHAPTER IX

TRAVAIL

"**THERE** is more enthusiasm for this revolution in any cafe in Paris than in all the United Colonies together," wrote General Duportail home to France in deep disgust when the news of the plot to oust Washington reached him.

He had come out to America full of a great fire to fight for the cause of freedom beside those Americans who were almost deified in Paris. He expected to find a great, uniform heroism all over the Continent, men cheerfully suffering terrible pains and giving up their treasures with magnanimity for the sake of the newly born republic; instead, he found discontent, sordid materialism, bickerings, intrigues, egotism, selfishness, and even treason itself in this land that looked so beautiful when seen from France.

After the route at Germans town General Washington led the remnants of his worn and wasted army into the Valley Forge, a deep and woody, but very bleak hollow on the banks of the Schuylkill, and twenty miles from Philadelphia which was now occupied by the English.

It was the month of November, and there were already signs of the coming of that awful winter of 1777.

As in the Jersey campaign of the preceding winter,

one could trace the way of the Americans by the blood from their feet in the snow.

Congress had made a sad muddle of the national finances. It had issued bills of credit for twenty million dollars since the war began, and this by means of Tory forgeries and even patriot forgeries, had depreciated so much, that the nation was trembling on the brink of bankruptcy. Seven hundred paper dollars were the price of a pair of boots. It took a wagon load of them to purchase a bushel of wheat. Consequently, there was no money for this poor army huddled up in the raw, draughty hollow beside the Schuylkill. They were without shelter, without ammunition, almost without food and almost without clothes. Some had shirts without sleeves, some trousers with one leg; others were but half covered in torn great-coats; and not a few had to contrive a suit for themselves out of blankets and sackcloth. Three thousand were reported as "bare-footed and otherwise naked."

Arrived in the Valley these gaunt, emaciated men, with arms not much fatter than the barrels of their muskets set to work to build a town of log huts. They could not get enough material, and the overcrowding brought on disease and sickness. They had a hospital—"a horrible receptacle"—the terror of the whole army; and the dying preferred to end their suffering outside on the frozen snow. As the General made his daily visit round his army of ragged skeletons, encouraging, sympathising, pacifying, even pledging them his own fortune for their pay, their pains and hardships filled him with a keen anguish, and it took all his great reserve of will-power to prevent him giving way to the general despair.

He beseeched Congress again and again for food,

clothes, building material and money ; nothing came but promises.

Efforts, it is true, had been made to provide the stricken army at the Valley Forge with succour. Contracts had been made with certain clothiers in Boston for ready money, at a fluctuating rate of from ten to eighteen hundred per cent. The contractors "manifested," Congress complained, "a disposition callous to the feelings of humanity, and untouched by the severe sufferings of their countrymen, exposed to a winter campaign in defence of the common liberties of their country." Despite this crushing expenditure the supplies were frequently lost and always much delayed before they reached the famished soldiers, so great were the difficulties of transport in that exposed region.

To keep his men alive Washington was obliged to force contributions from the reluctant farmers, whose patriotism stopped at giving of their plenty to the starving soldiers.

The Congress was not the Congress that had made him Commander-in-Chief, or that had declared for independence. All the men of vigour, ability, initiative and most of the earnest men had left it to serve their various states in civil reconstruction, or on the field of battle. Often not a dozen members could be whipped in to deliberate on a matter of grave national importance. When they did meet, the cause of liberty, the urgent needs of their countrymen, were forgotten in the wranglings, the mutual recriminations and the embroilments between these representatives of jealous commonwealths. Under such conditions, Congress was soon divided into several cliques and cabals ; and intrigue and low conspiracy were the order of the day.

There had always been a considerable party in Con-

gress and in the army, chiefly composed of New Englanders who were jealous and suspicious of General Washington's power; but whilst continually nibbling at his popularity they had never yet dared to come out openly.

General Gates' brilliant achievement at Saratoga provided them with the long-awaited opportunity. Immediately a propaganda was launched by these men contrasting the splendid success of Burgoyne's conqueror with the sorry performances of the Commander-in-Chief.

The aim was to oust Washington from his position, and get Gates appointed in his place. Round this hostile clique gathered all the discontented whom the stern discipline of Washington had offended. There was Conway at its head, the soldier of fortune from France, who had been passed over for the Inspector-Generalship of the army; and Mifflin who had been reprimanded for his mismanagement of the quarter-master's department; and Charles Lee, the traitor, who had been scolded for cowardice; and Gates of course who had always been intensely jealous, and often offensive to his chief; and Lovell, and Benjamin Rush, and, oddly enough, the pure-souled Samuel Adams.

The Conway Cabal resorted to the lowest methods to obtain its object. Anonymous letters were circulated to civil authorities, accusing Washington of gross favouritism and incompetence, and underhand appeals of a like nature were made to military officers.

Washington knew well of these manœuvres but he maintained a dignified silence. Presently the agitation became too general and widespread, and he was compelled to take action.

There had come lately to him a report of a letter

written by Conway to Gates containing this sentence :—
“Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad councillors would have ruined it.” With exquisite dignity the General sent these words to Conway, simply informing him that he understood they formed a portion of a letter of his to General Gates. The plot exploded amid a general burst of indignation from the country. Gates came out of the business none too well, and Conway, who had at last obtained the coveted Inspector-Generalship, tendered his resignation on being ordered to the north, which, to his bitter chagrin, was at once accepted.

Thus passed this storm, and left Washington stronger, more popular, and more firmly established than ever in the confidence of his countrymen.

But the discomfiture of his enemies did not make his task much lighter. If he had to contend no longer with an organised opposition amongst the heads of the country, he had to deal with the discontent of his soldiers, and the growing demoralization amongst the civilians.

The first fine fervour that had begotten heroism and the splendid abandonment of sacrifice, had long since worn off, and materialism of a gross and unscrupulous order was enthroned in the hearts of the people. Food, money, and the striving to obtain riches were all men now cared for; they had grown listless and utterly indifferent to the noble cause for which they had drawn the sword.

They were only too open to the bribery, not only of their friends, but of their enemies. The poor “rag-money” of their stricken country meant nothing to them, and they eagerly grasped at the British gold which was everywhere lavishly shed.

Powder stolen from the American magazines, and flour badly needed by Washington's "starvelings," were smuggled into the British camp at Philadelphia by so-called patriots.

"I am amazed," wrote the Commander-in-Chief to Colonel Stewart in the January of that terrible winter which he spent at the Vally Forge, "I am amazed at the report you make of the quantity of provisions that goes daily into Philadelphia from the county of Buckingham."

It was a thriving time for monopolisers, speculators, profiteers, and all manner of social parasites. Joseph Reed had taken energetic measures against these creatures, and Washington wrote him saying how pleased he was that the Pennsylvania Assembly was helping "in bringing those murderers, monopolisers, forestallers and engrossers to punishment." In his opinion "no punishment was too great for the man who could build his greatness on his country's ruin."

That special providence which had given to the new Republic, Washington, to organise its man power, raised up Robert Morris towards the end of the war, to settle its finances. He was of English birth, but, coming to Philadelphia at the age of fifteen, he had built up a great business and had acquired great wealth.

He set to work with thoroughness and earnestness. He cut down here, there, and everywhere; saved millions of dollars for his adopted country, and made scores of enemies. His sincerity had no bounds. At one time he pledged his vast fortune of a million and a half dollars to sustain the credit of the United States. At a critical moment he presented the suffering army with a shipload of clothing and ammunition, paid for out of his own pocket. He established a national bank, the "Bank of North America," which did much toward

steadying American credit. American historians have a great deal to say about him, and some have placed him next to Washington in importance. They are lavish in singing his praises, but the people for whom he did so much, and made such sacrifices, let him die poor, forgotten and in great want.

The worst enemies of the infant nation were not the British with their slackness in civilized methods towards "rebels"; or the Indians with their scalping knives and slow fires; or even the schemers and profiteers amongst the patriots. Harmful, indeed, as all these were, there were none of them so injurious, so cruel, so utterly remorseless as that great army of their own flesh and blood, who, under the misnomer of "Loyalists", worked with a fiery zeal for the success of the British armies.

They far out-classed the republicans as a body in enthusiasm and in thoroughness. Since the beginning of the struggle nothing was too despicable, nothing too inhuman, for them to do in furthering their cause. With a wild hate in their hearts they thought every means fair that would drive the "rotten rebels" from the Continent. They never doubted the ultimate triumph of the King, and they looked forward to a season of extirpation and confiscation when that day would arrive. The gracious Madame Higginson expressed a wish to celebrate the occasion by "driving through rebel's blood to the hobs of her carriage."

In 1775 a man from Billerica, contrary to the Trading with Soldiers Regulations, bargained with a soldier for his musket. When he had paid his money, he was seized by soldiers and Tories, tarred and feathered, and conducted through the streets with a placard round his neck bearing the motto, "American Liberty, or a specimen of Democracy."

Many diversions of this nature had happened, and the chief men of Billerica wrote in high wrath to the British commander, "May it please your excellency, we must tell you we are determined, if the innocent inhabitants of our country towns must be treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

The firm nature of the New Englanders was traditional, and General Gage was shrewd enough to know that they seldom gave two warnings. He stopped for a time this particular kind of barbarity.

After the capture of Boston in March, 1776, Washington led his army to New York. That city was a stronghold of Toryism, and the General rightly suspected that Lord Howe would make it his objective in his next attack.

At this time the Republicans held the city, and it was administered by a local committee of public safety. The Tory Governor, Tryan, had fled; but not far. He was on board a ship at Sandy Hook, and kept up a constant and uninterrupted correspondence with his friends. The first thing that struck Washington on his arrival was that open and general communication between the citizens of all politics and the British ships riding at anchor in the roadstead. He vigorously remonstrated with the local committee. "Gentlemen," he said, "the advantages of an intercourse of this kind are on the side of the enemy whilst we derive not the slightest benefit. . . . Even the enemy themselves must despise us for suffering it to continue."

Far from obtaining any benefit the guileless patriots were soon to learn that grave danger was to spring from it. The General was not long established in New York when a secret Committee which he had formed, brought

to light a well-arranged plot to kidnap him. Tryan's Tory agents had made good headway, and had corrupted a considerable section of the American army with British gold. They had been successful with Washington's own guard, one of whom was convicted by court-marshal and executed. Many were flung into prison including Mayor Mathews himself. The plan was wrecked, but the great Tory element was strong enough and close enough to give much uneasiness and justify a stricter vigilance.

In truth this matter of British gold was one of the strongest weapons in Tory hands. John Adams had aptly said that England was trying to bind America to her "by the golden solder of corruption."

They distributed the gold plentifully on all sides, and thus wrought great havoc on American organization. They counterfeited too very thoroughly. When Continental paper bills were issued, advertisements appeared in Tory journals announcing that people going into the interior could receive large amounts of this paper money by merely paying for the paper. This had, of course, a terribly depreciating effect on Republican currency and gave rise to the well-known expression, "not worth a continental."

The Tories had a large and influential press and they used it with vigour. Falsehoods, fears, scorn and ridicule were regularly poured on the Republican cause by this machine.

The propaganda did much to damp the ardour of patriots, but it had most effect on the great class of half-hearted people who were ready to side with the victorious cause.

The hopelessness of breaking away from the might of England, and the impossibility of establishing a central

government on so vast and varied a continent, were favourite theories.

"As to the future grandeur of America," wrote a reverend and very positive pamphleteer, "and its being a rising empire under one head, whether Republican or Monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived, even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people until the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths and principalities." Indeed, this idea of partition, of dividing and re-conquering began to be energetically expounded when the unruly states disappointed the prophets and sages by coming out finally victorious.

"It will not be an easy matter," wrote the knowing Sheffield, "to bring the American States to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us." . . . If the American States choose to send consuls, receive them, and send a consul to each state, *Each state will soon enter into all the necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary.*" A very clever plan, no doubt, but it did not work.

The "turbulent, anti-monarchical Presbyterians" were the chief aversions of the Tories who never wearied of lampooning them. After the Franco-American alliance the taunt of "pro-French" was used with considerable success.

Tory journals announced that great cargoes of cardinals, bishops, priests, crucifixes, statues, rosaries and gallons of holy water, were on their way from France to convert the Puritans.

Dr. Franklyn had been decorated with the "Holy Cross of Jerusalem," and a contract for a Bastille in New York, had been arranged with certain French experts in that line of architecture.

Boat-loads of French dancing masters, too, were due to teach the Presbyterians the latest and most gallant motions and steps from Paris.

The activity of the Tories in every direction was so great that as early as 1775 Washington had ordered the seizure and internment or deportation of all unfriendly persons.

"Why should persons who are preying on the vitals of the country," he exclaimed, "be suffered to stalk at large whilst we know that they will do us every mischief in their power?"

Whilst their men-folk were learning the arts of war, the Tory women were busy making them clothes and equipment. But some of the women went even further. In the May of 1779 Washington was at Middlebrook with his army. Owing to the awful privations, his soldiers, mostly of Irish extraction, were in a state of half mutiny. Immediately placards were got out to seduce the loyalty of these men. It was stated that 'the affairs of Ireland were then fully settled'; and that "Great Britain and Ireland were united as well from interest as from affection." Even at that time the Irish had heard the cry of "wolf!" too often, and not a single man of them betrayed the Republican cause.

Another of the many posters set out that "all aspiring heroes were now given a chance to distinguish themselves." The young men were exhorted to "co-operate in relieving themselves from the miseries of anarchy and tyranny."

"Any spirited young man," announced a recruiting

officer, "would be immediately mounted on an elegant horse and furnished with clothing worth £40." He could then do his bit in "the finishing stroke of this unnatural rebellion."

The Tories aimed at making the war as terrible and bloody as possible. They robbed, destroyed, and murdered secretly or openly as opportunity favoured. They held up the mails, and many important and even private letters got into Rivington's Gazette by this means. They burnt and pillaged towns, ships, harbours, villages, and jails. The evening the British entered New York a fire broke out in a part of the city. Immediately the cry went round "the rebels have done this," and Tories and soldiers were soon busy hurling innocent patriots into the flames.

A favourite plan was for a body of them to leave the British lines for a while and scour the fertile country by the Hudson, carrying off cattle, horses, and sheep, burning the peaceful farmsteads, killing or kidnapping the farmers, and ravishing their women-folk. Little wonder the republican farmers lived in mortal terror of the Tories "lurking in the woods."

A raid of this sort always gave joy to Rivington's Gazette which, on one occasion, remarked that "these attacks on the rebels" would enable "*the much injured Loyalists to do themselves justice on their rebellious countrymen.*"

In the western part of New York State, and far up on the higher reaches of the Susquehanna, lay the beautiful Wyoming Valley, sheltered on all sides by long acres of thick forests. Many families had happy homes in this peaceful hollow in the woods; and, although they were far from the scenes of war, they had heard the call of liberty, and most of their young manhood had gone forth to join the army of the Republic.

One day in the July of 1778, eight hundred Tories under Butler, and four hundred Indians under Brant, swept over this valley, slaughtered most of the men, carried off most of the women, destroyed houses and crops, and left it a bleak and bloody desolation. Those few who escaped the bullet and the tomahawk were driven through sixty miles of a fever-stricken forest swamp.

A Pennsylvanian regiment avenged Wyoming by wiping out the Indian town of Unadilla, but soon this was outclassed by another havoc wrought on the peaceful Cherry Valley by the remorseless followers of Butler and Johnson. These irregulars were often punished; but they returned again and again as relentless as ever, and harassed and laid waste the whole of that northern frontier.

"These are the times that try men's souls," cried Thomas Paine in the second year of the war, "the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot are fast falling away."

At this time the Continental Army was quartered on the heights of Haarlem for the winter. General Washington had taken a census of his army, and the story of decay it told caused him keen anguish. On the 21st of September he had 16,000 men. In the following fortnight he lost a thousand and in the month after another 1,500. In that period he had fought no action, nor had he much sickness. The shrinkage of his army was due solely to desertions. They came to him in batches of twenties and thirties at a time, these soldiers of liberty, and demanded dismissal "under false pretences and with lies on their lips." The greater number of deserters made their way to Vermont State which they helped to populate, but not a few of them joined the Tories, and spied on their former comrades.

It was necessary to fill up the depleted ranks by big pecuniary inducements, and it was not rare for recruits to receive bounties of 700 dollars to 1,000 dollars for a service of only five months.

The commissioned ranks had also sadly deteriorated. The older officers had forgotten their first idealism, and the later officers were mostly venal men. Many gave way to drunkenness, immorality, embezzlement and bribery. Promotion had ceased to be a merit, and was now got by cabal and intrigue. The different states were nominating officers "who were not fit to be shoe-blacks," Washington bitterly complained to his brother.

"I am weary to death," cried John Adams, petulantly in 1777, "with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts."

During the war no less than eighteen generals holding important commands, were retired for one thing or another. When money became scarce these patriotic captains began to resign, thus giving the example to their men.

In 1778 Washington declared that these resignations "would shake the very existence of the army unless a remedy was soon applied"; and two years later he complained to Congress that there was "scarcely a sufficient number of officers left to take care of the fragment of a corps which remained."

When Washington was at Middlebrook the sufferings of his army were so great, that even the fidelity of his own tried veterans began to weaken. They were in dire want of food, clothes, and the necessaries of life. Again and again despatches had been sent to Philadelphia for relief, but none was forthcoming, for Congress had no

money. The "Daughters of Freedom" then came forth and gave their jewels, their ornaments, and their treasures towards a fund for their starving brothers. They set to work, too, with their needles and scissors, and presently sent to Middlebrook 2,200 good shirts.

For a time this mollified the soldiers, but the discontent was too deep to be stayed, and it soon broke out in a very serious form.

The Pennsylvanian Line, composed almost exclusively of Irish Presbyterians who had fled from English oppression, was one of the best and most reliable regiments in the whole republican army.

On the 18th of January 1781, without any warning 1,300 mobilised, and, having elected some sergeants as leaders, prepared to march upon Congress at Philadelphia. The officers tried all means to restrain them. They reasoned with them, they coaxed them, and finally they grew impatient and threatened them. They killed Captain Billing, who was too vehement for their taste, and wounded some others; and when their general, "Mad Anthony Wayne," presented a cocked pistol at them, their leader exclaimed, "General, we love you, but if you fire you are a dead man. We love liberty, but we cannot starve."

Finding them fixed in their purpose, Wayne wisely desisted in urging them further, and, under their sergeants, they set out towards Princeton with six field pieces. General Clinton thought it a very good occasion to try a little propaganda work, and, accordingly, they were met at Trenton by three of his emissaries, who sought to seduce them by liberal promises.

Declaring they were not traitors, they took prisoner these emissaries and they were afterwards tried by courtmartial, and hanged.

Congress was compelled to yield, and it sent a deputation to the mutineers which granted all their conditions and restored the harmony and discipline of the army.

The gloom and chagrin caused by the Franco-American failure on New York, was nearly turned into a national panic by the terrible news which came from West Point in the Autumn of 1780. Of all the American generals, none so caught the popular imagination as the dashing cavalry leader Benedict Arnold. From the outbreak of hostilities he never seemed to rest.

It was he who, in the early days of 1775, penetrated through the northern forests and swamps, and captured with a handful of men "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental army" the impregnable fortress of Ticonderoga. He took part in the Saratoga campaign, distinguishing himself at the battle of Bennington, and winning an immortal name for valour in the desperate affair at Bemis Heights.

A wound he had received in his action had disabled him, and he was given command of the troops in Philadelphia. Here he fell in love with and married a beautiful Tory girl who had been the friend of Sir Henry Clinton during his occupation of the city.

His impulsive and reckless nature and lavish manner of living involved him in money embarrassments of a serious order. In desperation he did some unseemly things, and this brought him a delicate and kindly rebuke from Washington, who had a high opinion of his talents. He next sought a loan from the French minister, but received only a cutting reproof. Overwhelmed with debt, he resigned the command at Philadelphia, but soon afterwards obtained that of the important fortress of West Point.

For eight months he had been in secret correspondence

with Major Andre of the British Army, and things had come to such a pass that for a bribe he now consented to hand over this key position to the enemy.

On a night of September Major Andre rowed across from the Vulture sloop of war to a deep and quiet wood on the American side of the Hudson where the traitor was waiting for him.

The conference lasted into dawn, and Arnold's battery commander, noticing the nearness of the Vulture, opened a heavy fire on her. To his surprise he was reprimanded for "idly wasting powder and shot." It was now extremely dangerous for André to re-cross the river with the valuable plans of West Point in his stocking, so, dressed in a civilian outfit, and with a pass from Arnold made out in the name of "John Anderson," he passed safely through the American lines in the direction of New York.

The region which he now entered was that strange "No Man's Land," which extended thirty miles along the Hudson. It was under the control of neither army, but was infested by two gangs of freebooters who espoused the two causes. These were the "Cow-boys" who were pro-British, and the "Skinners" who supported the Republicans.

Andre had covered many miles and was beginning to think himself safe, when he was held up by three of the "Skinners." "What party are you?" asked the leader; and judging by his German *jäger's* disguise that he was friendly, the Major replied, "The Lower (i.e., British) Party. Thank God I am once more among friends!" They seized him, searched him, and discovering the papers in his stocking, led him a captive to Col. Jameson at North Castle.

Never suspecting Arnold, Jameson despatched to him a letter telling him of his discovery.

The traitor was thus warned in time, and escaped across the Hudson to the British lines.

Andre made a full confession, was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be hanged. He pleaded for a soldier's death, and would probably have got it, too, had it not been for tough General Greene.

"Andre," he logically argued, "is either a spy or an innocent person. If the latter, to execute him in any way will be murder; if the former, the mode of death is prescribed by law and you have no right to alter it." So this young and promising soldier was hanged in the full regimentals of a King's officer, and thus paid the penalty of his recklessness.

Arnold received £10,000, and the rank of Major-General in the royal army. His new masters treated him with some coldness and a good deal of suspicion. He appears once or twice again in the revolutionary history, not as the great general of a great army, but as the despised and distrusted leader of ill-disciplined irregulars.

His progeny, however, were not forgotten by the British Government.

So recently as 1850 the London "Times" wrote: "We are actually, this moment, supporting out of the public funds, the descendants of Arnold the American traitor."

CHAPTER X

TRIUMPH

ON the 2nd of December General Greene replaced General Gates in the command of the Southern Army of the Republic.

Nat Greene, the ablest captain in the American Army after Washington, was the son of a Rhode Island blacksmith and prior to the revolution had carried on that business himself at Providence. He was a self-taught man who had risen from this humble position purely by his own inherent force of energy and natural ability.

Arrived in the Carolinas, he found things in a sad way. His command consisted of less than 2,000 militiamen, with scarcely three days' provisions and a wretched supply of ammunition. Cornwallis, the only outstanding officer on the British side, reigned supreme over a vast area from his secure quarters at Charleston.

Besides a large and well equipped force, he had the active help of innumerable bands of Tory irregulars who scoured the country, committing savage inhumanities, and striking fear into the patriots, under the daring leadership of Ferguson, Pilk, and the famous Banastre Tarleton.

To many strong and fearless men the task would seem too big to master, but this vigorous New Englander was

a man who throve under obstacles. Greene was soon busy, and in a short while he managed to get food and arms for his army, and to inspire it with a higher notion of discipline. But, despite his efforts, it was still too feeble to undertake an active offensive, and he decided to imitate the tactics of the famous Roman whose elusive policy finally out-wearied Hannibal's soldiers.

Greene opened the campaign by sending General Morgan with 500 Continentals to the Santee River in South Carolina to overawe the Tories there. At Cowpens Tarleton's light horse fell upon the Americans with their usual fury, but after a violent struggle were routed with terrible loss. Eight hundred Tories were killed or wounded, and all their artillery, ammunition, baggage and horses fell into Morgan's hands. This was the redoubtable Tarleton's first defeat, and it did much to break the merciless prestige he had held for so long.

On hearing of the disaster, Cornwallis planned to overtake Morgan and prevent his rejoining Greene; then cross the Yadkin, and prevent Greene from joining with his main body.

Now followed an extraordinary race over 250 miles of country, across the two Carolinas and into South Virginia. The course of this race runs through a country of rolling hills and valleys which is intersected by several rivers flowing eastward to the Atlantic.

After Cowpens, Morgan lost no time in making for the Catawba, and succeeded in getting his men and baggage across just two hours before Cornwallis was sighted. It was dark when the latter arrived, and he was obliged to wait on the south bank till morning. During the night a heavy rain had fallen, and the placid river had been turned into a swollen and foaming current utterly impossible to cross.

The British had to wait still longer whilst Morgan continued his march unhindered and rejoined Greene who now took command.

But they had not long to rest, for the indefatigable Cornwallis had crossed the Catawba as soon as the water had subsided, and was after them at great speed.

Greene, and Morgan now made for the Yadkin, the next large river on the way to Virginia. They crossed it only just in time. Cornwallis had made such good head-way that he had caught up on their rear, and actually captured some of their wagons. But when he was about to pass there occurred another of those strange, providential interferences. The waters of the Yadkin rose as suddenly as the Catawba, and the British were thus a second time checked.

The British Commander's efforts availed him nothing, and the news which presently reached him that Greene had joined with his main body at Guilford, added to his chagrin. Yet he was not daunted, and now aimed at overtaking the Americans further on, and cutting them off from Virginia where they were expecting reinforcements. He strove to pass the Dan with all haste before the Americans could reach it. By a great effort he succeeded in fording the upper reaches of that river; and it seemed that this lengthened and weary pursuit would end at last in a complete triumph for his arms.

When Greene heard of this, he finally realised his peril and worked with a desperate energy to save his army, and incidentally, the Southern States. He was not strong enough to fight Cornwallis, and his only hope lay in keeping up the terrible race to Virginia. He determined to make a dash for Irwin's Ford on the lower part of the river. The race was now furious. One hastily meal a day was all that there was time to eat, and

in forty-eight hours but six men could be spared to restore the fatigues of the rest. As at Trenton, and the Valley Forge the unshod, mangled feet of the Americans tracked the way with blood.

At length by travelling forty miles in twenty-four hours, he crossed the Dan just as the British vanguard from the higher reaches appeared; and escaped to Virginia.

Cornwallis gave up the pursuit, and marching on Hillsborough, made an effort to collect the Tories round his standard. In order to discourage them, Greene sent "Light Horse Harry" Lee over the Dan again. He lost no time on the southern bank when 500 Tories under Pyle threw themselves upon him with wild shouts of "Long live the King!"

But they were cut to pieces without mercy, and the few that escaped the American sabres fled panic-stricken through the district, asserting they were the only survivors. This practically put an end to Tory recruitment in this part of Carolina.

Greene had been augmented by a large body of militia men; and with an army of 4,000 he now retraced his steps as far southward as Guilford Court House. Here, on the 15th of March, Cornwallis faced him with an army half the size, but superior in morale and equipment. Owing greatly to the cowardice of the militia the Americans were worsted. But in the matter of casualties, the British, who could least afford them, suffered most. Indeed, so badly crippled was Cornwallis that he could make nothing of his victory, and was obliged to retire to Wilmington on the coast.

South Carolina was thus laid open, and, after a consultation with his staff, Greene advanced on Lord Rawdon's army at Camden. Feeling himself too weak to attack,

he encamped on Hobkirk's Hill, about 2 miles from the British Camp. One day, whilst the Americans were at ease, Rawdon fell upon them, and but for the swift action of Greene, would certainly have annihilated them. As it was, the latter was beaten, but as in the case of the Cornwallis affair, the victors were obliged to fall back on their headquarters at Charleston.

The weather now grew too sultry for fighting, and Greene led his men into the salubrious Santee Hills to rest a while.

Having received reinforcements he broke camp on the 21st of August and attacked Stuart, Rawdon's successor, at Eutaw Springs, not far from Charleston. The action that followed was one of the bloodiest in the whole revolution. The bayonet was used with such ferocity that many pairs of enemies were mutually transfixed. Greene had the advantage this time, and Stuart fell back on Charleston.

Thus, after nine months ceaseless fighting, and in the face of well-nigh insuperable difficulties, this unequalled captain wrested the Carolinas from the firm hold of the British without having won a single battle.

Cornwallis part of this time was in Wilmington. His position was becoming serious. Cut off from support on the south, and expecting nothing by the sea, of which the French had now control, he decided that his best plan was to march northward. So, on the day on which the battle of Hobkirk's Hill was fought, he left Wilmington for Virginia. Having overrun the country for a while, burning, destroying, ravishing and, being hard pressed by the gathering American forces, he retired to Yorktown at the mouth of the river York, and there awaited much-needed reinforcements.

All this time General Washington was on the Hudson

with the main army, keeping an eye on Sir Harry Clinton in New York.

A war-weariness had come over the whole country, and there was surprising talk in high places of making terms. The Commander-in Chief saw that he had to achieve some brilliant success at once if he was to keep up the flagging enthusiasum.

He formed a plan to march to Virginia and enclose Cornwallis by land, whilst the fleet of de Grasse landed French troops and shut off help from the sea.

He hoodwinked Clinton into the belief that his objective was New York by raising camouflage batteries near the city, and causing false despatches to fall into his hands. So cleverly was this done that even when the Americans began their march southward the British commander regarded it merely as a feint to throw him off his guard, and stayed securely behind his defences.

Having crossed the Jersies and Maryland, Washington went down the coast to Virginia, and halted at Williamsburg, where Lafayette had his camp. Here he waited anxiously for the arrival of the French fleet. •

In due time de Grasse arrived at Cape Henry, near Yorktown, with twenty-four ships, and landed over 3,000 excellent French soldiers.

Washington now moved down to the neighbourhood of Yorktown, and joined up with the French. Thus, while Cornwallis was daily expecting aid from Clinton, he found himself on the 28th of September suddenly shut in on all sides.

The allied army numbered 16,000. It was well provided with arms and ammunition, and had besides a number of siege pieces manned by expert French artillerymen.

The British army, cooped up in York town was little

more than half the size of its enemy; but it was well equipped and disciplined. Besides Cornwallis knew that on him rested the maintenance or fall of British power on the American Continent.

He was determined to hold out to the end, and was encouraged in this course by a letter from Clinton promising help.

The besiegers kept up a continuous and deadly fire. On the 11th of October they carried the outworks, and on the 14th they captured two redoubts which had been doing their flanks much harm. Cornwallis had put up a desperate resistance, but the end was in sight, and he knew it.

Too proud to surrender to soldiers whom he looked upon as rebels, he made a last bold effort to escape. He would carry his army across the mouth of the York to the north bank, in the covering blackness of night, and thence push hastily on to New York.

The appointed night came, but when the first portion got safely over, a violent hurricane arose and shattered the boats.

The end had come—the end of Cornwallis' army and of the British cause in the American provinces. On the 25th of October in that memorable year of 1781, 7,000 British regulars and Tories, with their officers, evacuated Yorktown, and had the poignant indignity of delivering up their weapons to "execrable rebels" and "frog-eating Frenchmen."

The news soon reached England, and the premier, Lord North, "received it as he would have taken a ball in his breast, opening his arms, and exclaiming, '“ Oh, God! it is all over! ”’"

On the other hand, it was the signal for universal rejoicings in the States.

The six years of weary warfare and sore privation had had a morose and chilling effect. Now as the glad tidings swept from one end of the Continent to the other there was a sudden and vehement reaction, and a wave of delirious joy passed over the people.

Philadelphia, Boston, and all the chief towns were illuminated, and the citizens gave themselves up to banquets, feasts, balls, and all the outward signs of jubilation. They had realised a great fact; the all but impossible had been achieved, and America was safe and free.

The Republican triumph came just in time. So recently as the preceding January, when the Empress of Russia had offered her mediation, the southern states, and a great many people in the northern states too, would have willingly accepted something short of actual independence. But British stupidity, by refusing every proposal but virtual submission, saved them in spite of themselves.

The British premier, North, now resigned, and after some fluctuations, his place was taken by Lord Shelburne, who did all that diplomacy could do to make a patched-up and separate peace with America.

The agents of Congress, however, refused to negotiate without France, and insisted upon the open and unqualified recognition of the new Republic as the basis of a treaty. In January 1782 an Act was passed to enable George III. to make peace with his recent subjects; and just a year afterwards, the preliminary treaty between France, Spain, the United States and Great Britain was settled.

The final treaty was signed at Versailles on the 3rd of September, 1783.

In October the army was disbanded by national

decree, and in December General Washington attended the Congress at Annapolis. He laid before the treasury an exact account of his out-of-pocket expenses, and, having congratulated "that august body" on the happy ending of events, returned to it the high commission he had held so honourably for those six years of trial and suffering.

"The United States in Congress assembled," replied the President, Mifflin, "receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authority under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war. . . . You have persevered until these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation (i.e., France) have been enabled, under a wise Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence. . . ."

He ended his speech with this significant phrase: "Having defended the standard of Liberty in this New World, *having taught a lesson useful to those who feel oppression*, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow citizens."

George Washington left Congress once more a plain "mister," and retired to his beloved Mount Vernon where he hoped in vain to live, for the rest of his years, the life of "a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life."

The two British armies at Savannah and Charleston evacuated these cities soon after Yorktown, and, before the year 1783 had gone, the last of them, Carleton's great army at New York, passed out of American land for ever.

The ships that bore away the British, carried also

thousands of Tories, huddled up with their bundles of belongings in the cabins and holds, fleeing from the exasperation of their countrymen, whom they had done all in their power to ruin. Thousands, too, crossed the Canadian border and thousands sailed from the Southern States in abject misery and dejection, to begin life anew in some land which was shadowed by their beloved Union Jack.

In all, over 60,000 hurried out of the United States. The Government they had helped so zealously distributed £3,000,000 amongst them, and settled large numbers of them in the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and Jamaica.

"We do not miss them," wrote Franklin, "nor wish their return; nor do we envy them their present happiness." But the exasperation was only passing, and the Americans, in the generous spirit of true liberty, soon opened the Union to them and restored to them many of the unappropriated estates.

Here ends the story of how America won independence. In so brief a book many important and interesting details have of necessity to be left out. But I hope I have done enough to show that freedom, like the fair lady, cannot be got by the asking alone.

CHAPTER XI

IRELAND'S PART IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"IRELAND they have to a man," declared Pitt in 1775 in the British House of Commons.

And a year later, Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Ossory, "I [heard t'other day from very good authority, that all Ireland was America mad."

Simultaneously with the American trouble, disaffection broke out in Ireland for precisely the same reasons. The British Government regarded Ireland as it regarded America, as a colony, and treated her as such. Prompted by the jealous selfishness of British merchants, it had legislated to stifle and suppress Irish industry and Irish trade.

In this way the linen and great woollen industry of Ireland had been killed; and the resulting bitterness was made still more acute by a recent Act, putting an embargo on the growing provision trade with America. It is true Ireland then possessed a parliament in Dublin; but it was a burlesque, a congress of puppets, wholly in the hands of a small ascendancy group, strictly limited in legislative powers, and often over-ruled by the Parliament at Westminster.

Any enactment that helped the British interest was

graciously allowed to stand; any act that was for the good of the people it was supposed to represent, was at once vetoed by the superior assembly across the channel.

The vital structures of the nation were crumbling; and from the debris, poverty, want, and even famine were rising. The discontent was spreading with alarming swiftness, and earnest men, realising that something had to be done at once, turned away from the sorry farce in College Green, and busied themselves with organizing the people.

It was an opportune moment for Ireland. England had been weakened by four years of an exhausting struggle with her rebellious subjects across the Atlantic, and just when the "unnatural rebellion" showed signs of collapsing, France had thrown in all her great energies on the side of the insurgents. Every soldier was needed to resist this new combination, and Ireland was soon denuded of troops. Here was a splendid opening for arming the citizens which the leaders of that day did not miss.

It was pretended that a French invasion was not only possible but imminent, and on this pretext, Irishmen organised themselves into volunteer corps.

Within a year they numbered over 50,000 well armed with serviceable muskets and many pieces of good cannon.

These citizen-soldiers accepted no pay, provided their own uniforms, elected their own officers, and gave their leisure and a great deal of their work time to the study of military strategy and discipline.

They were a political as well as a military body; and when they were not learning the arts of war, they were making plans to hamper Britain in other ways.

It was about this time that at a meeting of the "free-men and freeholders of the City of Dublin," the following resolution was passed:—

"That we will not, from the date hereof, until the grievances of this country shall be removed, directly or indirectly, import or consume *any* of the manufactures of Great Britain; nor will we deal with any merchant or shopkeeper who shall import such manufactures; and that we recommend an adoption of a similar agreement to all our countrymen who regard the commerce and constitution of this country."

Presently it was endorsed by all the Volunteer corps and regiments throughout the country, and very effective measures were taken by them to see that it was strictly obeyed.

George Bancroft, the great American historian, gives Ireland the credit of having led the way in this plan of resistance, used with such telling effect by the American colonists. "The Irish people," he wrote, "set the example of resisting English laws by voluntary agreements to abstain from using English manufactures."

Such was the state of Ireland during the tea tax agitation in America. Little wonder that the colonial opposition was watched with interest and sympathy.

In 1771 Benjamin Franklin visited the Kingdom, and was received in Dublin with great heartiness by all sides. He was paid the high compliment of being brought "within the bar" of the College Green House of Commons, and there he found the patriot leaders enthusiastic friends of America.

Meetings were held in many parts of Ireland protesting vigorously against the oppression of America. In Belfast the people sent money to aid the colonists. Waterford city sent a petition of protest to the House of

Commons. Dublin was indignant, and embarrassed the Government with its out-spoken condemnation.

Molyn  ux's famous book, "The case for Ireland," had a great sale across the Atlantic, and was a powerful source of inspiration to the patriots there.

When the American revolution broke out in 1775 the British authorities started a big recruiting campaign in Ireland. Throughout the country the King's officers were clamouring for men. They were tolerant in their hour of necessity, and cordially invited the "Papists" into the ranks. A few years before they were offering rewards for the discovery of any of these same "Papists" who should have presumed to have enlisted in His Majesty's service, "that they might be turned out and punished with the utmost severity of the law."

Bluff Sir Boyle Roche "attended by his captain and a grand procession, beat up for recruits Limerick, and met with great success." His popularity did what neither appeals to "loyalty" nor money could do. Lord Kenmare had not the popularity, but he had the gold. He offered half a guinea to every new recruit, and even by this means had much difficulty in raking in a few hundreds.

Recruiting for the suppression of the American "Rebellion" moved slowly in Ireland, and presently died down altogether; so that neither popularity, nor gold, nor threats were of any use, and the Government had to resort to force.

"They" (i.e., British authorities) "had already experienced their" (i.e., Irish Catholics) "unwillingness to go," wrote Mister Arthur Lee to General Washington in the midst of the war. "Every man of a regiment raised last year having obliged them to ship him off tied and bound. . . . Most certainly the Irish Catholics

will desert more than any other troops whatever." If recruiting was not a success amongst the Catholics of the South, West and East, it was a hopeless fiasco amongst the "turbulent, anti-monarchical Presbyterians" of the North.

Discontent and unjust laws had driven thousands of these rigid republicans across the Atlantic. •

"They brought to America no submissive love for England," says Bancroft, "and their experience and their religion alike, bade them meet oppression with prompt resistance."

They founded large settlements in the beautiful Virginian valleys, and along the banks of the pleasant Catawba in South Carolina. There were formidable bodies of them, too, in New York, in Pennsylvania, and in disturbed Massachusetts. Filled with a bitter hatred of the Government which had hunted them from their native land, they seized the opportunity of revenge which the American discontent offered, and eagerly threw themselves into the extreme separatist wing of the patriotic movement.

Large numbers of Catholics also came out in rapidly increasing numbers, and joined hands with their Presbyterian countrymen in encouraging resistance to the enemy they both detested.

From the start of hostilities able-bodied Irishmen joined up in thousands. They were the backbone of the insurgent army. Enthusiastic, disciplined, bearing terrible privations with stoical cheerfulness, they were at all times the only regiments which Washington could thoroughly trust.

A hundred and fifty Irishmen answered the "Minute" call at Lexington. At Bunker's Hill the first regular battle of the revolution, O'Briens, O'Haras, Phelans,

Quins, Donagheys, Dempseys, Donnellys, Farrells, Doyles, Duffys, Connollys, resisted the British onslaught with desperate valour; and the same can be said of every other battle in the campaign.

One of the first corps in the Continental Service was the famous Pennsylvanian Line, mainly Irish Presbyterians, and under the command of an Irish Catholic, Colonel Edward Hand. Another splendid corps was a regiment of Catholic Irishmen from Maryland and Lower Pennsylvania, under Colonel Stephen Moylan, a personal friend of Washington, and brother to the Bishop of Cork.

Irish blood was also much to the fore on the insurgent officer staff.

General Montgomery, the brilliant young soldier who was killed whilst storming Quebec, was born in Raphoe, Co. Donegal. General Sullivan was the son of a Limerick schoolmaster. His brother James became successively Attorney-General, Judge and Governor of Massachusetts. General Warren, killed at Bunker's Hill, hailed from Warren Point in the County Down. Colonel John Fitzgerald, born in Ireland, was Washington's dear friend and favourite aide-de-camp.

The first President of the United States had no "scruples" or fears in regard to Ireland, and often avowed his sympathy with the little nation. Many times during the war and after, he showed his deep interest in the Irish, and that at a time when there was no "open diplomacy" or "League of Nations."

Boston City surrendered on St. Patrick's Day, 1776. Washington issued this general order out of compliment to the very large number of Irish serving under him :

• "Headquarters, 17th March, 1776.

Countersign, 'St. Patrick.' parole, 'Boston.'"

"The regiments under marching orders to march

to-morrow. Brigadier of the day, General Sullivan. By His Excellency's Command."

In the March of 1780, news came from Dublin of Grattan's great victory for free trade, and the camp at Morristown was given over to rejoicings and festivities. General Washington congratulated his men on the tidings, and declared that the Irish success was not only "calculated to remove the heavy and tyrannical oppression on their trade, but to restore to a brave and generous people their ancient rights [and privileges, and in their operations, to promote the cause of America."

He ordered that "all fatigue and working parties cease for to-morrow, the 17th day, held in particular regard by the people of that nation." Apparently the general had no doubt as to the status of the island.

On the day itself he issued this order, in which he frankly expresses his appreciation:—

"17th March, 1780. The Commanding Officer desires that the celebration of the day should not pass by without a little rum issued to the troops, and has thought proper to direct the Commissary to send for the hogsheads which the Colonel has purchased within the vicinity of the camp. While the troops are celebrating the bravery of St. Patrick in innocent mirth and pastime, he hopes they will not forget their worthy friends in the Kingdom of Ireland, who, with the greatest unanimity have stepped in opposition to the tyrant Great Britain, and who, like us, are determined to die or be free.

The troops will conduct themselves with the greatest sobriety and good order."

In the September of 1779, over 1,500 troops arrived from Ireland, and, as General Lee had foretold, large numbers deserted to the Americans in the course of the year. This greatly angered Lord Kawdon, and, on the

1st of July, 1780, he published this order:—"I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the Volunteers of Ireland, and five guineas only if they bring them in alive."

It is true that the Tory force on the royal side was large than the whole Continental army; but, it is equally true that the Irish force in the Republican service was as great as all its other elements put together.

On the 6th of June, 1779, the Tory speaker of the Pennsylvanian House of Assembly, Mr. Galloway, was examined before a Committee of the British House of Commons. He was asked the question, was the rebel army chiefly composed of natives of America, or were they mainly English? He answered in these words: "The names and places of their nativity being taken down I can answer the question with precision. There were scarcely a quarter natives of America; about a half; the other quarter were English and Scotch."

The Irish were largely the pioneers of the American Navy. On the 12th of June the good people of Macchias (Maine) raised a Liberty Pole to commemorate the victory of Concord. Captain Moor with his armed schooner, the "Margaretta," happened to be in the bay, and threatened to bombard the town if the seditious symbol were not removed.

Jeremiah O'Brien, with his five brothers and a few neighbours, boarded a small sloop and boldly attacked the British vessel. There was a sharp fight in which Captain Moore was killed and his crew were compelled to surrender to this Irish woodman.

This was the first naval battle fought in the revolution. O'Brien now transferred the armament of the "Margaretta" to his sloop, which he christened the "Macchias Liberty," and, sailing round the coast he captured the

British revenue cutter "Diligence." After this, Congress gazetted him captain of the two ships, and he carried on a harassing campaign against British shipping.

Captain O'Brien wrought such havoc that the British were much annoyed, and Admiral Graves, after many fruitless attempts to capture him, retaliated by burning the defenceless town of Falmouth.

Congress was thus awakened to the necessity of guarding the coast line, and Commodore Jack Barry of Tacumshane, in the County Wexford, was commissioned to fit out some merchant vessels as men-of-war. In 1776 he captured the "Edward," the first large British warship to fall into American hands. Under the influence of these Irish sailors and the daring Scotchman, Paul Jones, the Republican navy grew quickly to a formidable size.

The Franco-American Treaty was signed in the February of 1778, and, soon afterwards great bodies of French troops crossed the Atlantic to aid the colonists.

These troops were composed largely of men of the Irish Brigade, whose special privilege it was "to march first against the English in every climate where France waged war."

In the first transports to the west came the famous Regiment of Dillon, the Regiment of Berwick and the Regiment of Walshe.

The "Wild Geese" took a prominent part in the conquest of the important island of Granada, which deprived England for a time of the mastery of the American seas.

They maintained their record for bravery and chivalry, drawing praise even from their enemies. The "Annual Register" of that date declared that the French "indulged in the most unbridled licence"; and that had it not been for "the humanity and tenderness shown by the

officers and private men of Dillon's Irish Regiment to the inhabitants, their condition would have been too deplorable to have been endured or described."

These Franco-Irish soldiers distinguished themselves also at Savannah, and in many other fiercely contested battles during the war.

The Irish were by no means confined to military deeds; they figured nearly as prominently on the civil side. Three of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence were born in Ireland—Matthew Thornton, James Smith, and George Taylor; five were of Irish extraction—George Reid, Thomas M'Kean, Charles Carroll, Edward Rutledge and Thomas Lynch. Both parents of M'Kean were born in Ireland, and he became afterwards President of Congress.

Doubtless these men had something to do with the "Address to the People of Ireland" issued by Congress in 1775. This famous document is too long for full quotation here. It was designed to counteract the gross misrepresentation of the American case by the British. It began by expressing a desire "to possess the goodwill of the virtuous and humane"; and after reciting a list of outrages committed by the British, and stating American anxiety for an honourable settlement, proceeded as follows:—" . . . It was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves to cease our commercial connection with your island. Your Parliament had done us no wrong. You had been friendly to the rights of mankind, and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your Nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand we are not ignorant that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of

little moment to herself, but served only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin . . .

Instead of directions for a candid inquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression, and our long for-bearance rewarded with imputation of cowardice. Our peaceful assemblies for the purpose of consulting the common good were declared seditious. . . . Compelled, therefore, to behold thousands of our countrymen in prison, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous misery; when we find all faith at an end and sacred treaties turned into tricks of State; when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our inhabitants plundered, our houses in flames, and our once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity, who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of desolation? Who can censure our repelling the attacks of such a murderous band? Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation? . . . Accept our grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have already shown towards us. We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathise with you in your distress. . . . In the rich pastures of Ireland many hungry parasites have fed and grown strong to labour in its destruction. . . . Of their friendly disposition we do not yet despond, aware as they must be that they have nothing more to expect from the same enemy than humble favour of being the last devoured . . ."

At a critical moment Morris, the Treasurer of Congress, started the Bank of North America which stopped in time a big financial panic, and did much towards bringing the war to a successful end. Twenty-three Irish-Americans subscribed close on half a million dollars towards the founding of this bank.

In truth, America owes much to the "children of the Gael." In her hour of need she called on them for help, and she did not call in vain. They gave generously, even prodigally, of fortune, blood and life itself; and did not hesitate to proclaim openly their sympathy with the struggling colonists. Over a hundred and thirty years have passed since those events, and now America is strong and free, and Ireland is weak and enslaved. The great Republic of the New World has it in her power to-day to repay her debt to the Irish people whose ancestors fought so bravely for American Independence.

THE END

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NOTE.- My best thanks are due to Mr. Mario Esposito, M.R.I.A., for correcting the proofs, and for his many valuable suggestions; and to Mr. Desmond Dowling, A.R.C., Sc. I. for the maps illustrating the campaign. K. R. O'S.

LEADING DATES

1764. British Parliament passes the Sugar Act. Massachusetts organises against "taxation without representation."

1765. Stamp Act passed (March 22). Mutiny Act extended to the Colonies (April). Rioting in Boston and New York. Stamp Act Congress in New York (October).

1766. Stamp act repealed (March 18).

1767. British Parliament imposes duties on the colonies ; creates customhouses and commissioners for America (June 29).

1768. British troops arrive in Boston (September).

1770. Boston Massacre (March 5). British Parliament removes all duties except the Tea Tax (April).

1772. "Gaspee," revenue cutter, destroyed (June).

1773. Virginian Assembly appoints inter-colonial Committee of Correspondence (March). Boston "Tea-Party" (December 16).

1774. Boston Port Bill passed (March 31). General Gage made Governor of Massachusetts (May 13). First Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia and adopts the Articles of Association (September 5) Militia organised in Massachusetts.

1775. Battles of Lexington and Concord (April). Arnold captures Ticonderoga (April). The British

sloop "Margaretta" seized at Macchias (Maine) by the Brothers O'Brien (June 12). Address to the people of Ireland by Congress. Washington made Commander-in-Chief of Continental Army (June 17). Battle of Bunker's Hill and Siege of Boston (July). General Montgomery killed before Quebec (December 8).

1776. Six British treaties for German mercenaries this year. Boston surrenders to Washington (March 17). Declaration of Independence adopted and signed (July 4) Battles of Long Island (August 27), Haarlem Plains (September), White Plains (October 28), and Trenton (December). Washington's campaign in the Jerseys.

1777. Expedition of General Burgoyne with Battles of Bennington (August); Stillwater (September 16), and his surrender at Saratoga (October 16). Washington at Morristown (January-May); and at Valley Forge (December). British occupy Philadelphia (October).

1778. France recognises the U.S.A. (February). British Parliament renounces all rights of taxation and unsuccessfully negotiates for the submission of the colonies (February 17). British evacuate Philadelphia (June 18). Battle of Monmouth (June 28). D'Estaing arrives with French Fleet and 4,000 troops (July). Savannah captured by English (December).

1779. Spain joins France and America (June).

1780. Battle of Cowan's Ford (February). British capture Charleston and subjugate South Carolina (February-May). General Horatio Gates takes command of the Southern Army (July 25). Battle of Camden (August 16), resulting in Gate's rout, Arnold in command at West Point (August). Arnold's treason and his flight to the British lines (September). Andre executed (October 2). Battle of King's Mountain (October 7). General Nat Greene in command of the southern Army (December 2).

1781. Revolt of the Pennsylvanian Line (January). Battle of Cowpens (January 17). Robert Morris becomes Superintendent of Finance (February 20). Battle of Guildford (March 15). Battle of Hobkirk's Hill (April). Battle of Eutaw Springs (September 8). Siege of Yorktown begins (September 28). Surrender of General Cornwallis (October 19).

1782. Savannah evacuated by the British (July 11). Provisional treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the U.S. (November 30). Charleston evacuated by the British December 14.

1783. Thousands of Tories evacuate the Territory of the U.S. British Parliament votes half-pay to all Tory officers (June 27), and passes a Compensation Act (July) in favour of all Tories. Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and U.S. signed at Paris (September 3). Peace of Versailles between Great Britain, France and Spain (September 3). American army demobilizes (October 18). General Washington resigns his commission at Annapolis and retires into private life.

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